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Studies in American Society: II



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❧Introduction

This is the second of two volumes concerned with introducing the student of social science to a selected offering of some major sociological studies of American society.¹ These two volumes attempt not only to assist the student in acquiring systematic knowledge about the society in which he lives but also, equally important, to acquaint him with the kinds of problems that concern social scientists doing empirical research. In addition, it is hoped that the student will begin to obtain what Conant calls a "‘feel’ for the Tactics and Strategy of Science."² Admittedly, it is not possible within a few pages to familiarize the student with more than a portion of the research tactics and strategies employed by professional social scientists. But it is intended that he will at least become aware of the fact that there is no one research "method" systematically employed by all social scientists.

For the social sciences, the fundamental theme of methodological consideration is the existence of a social world, the fact that there is social reality. Methods or techniques for obtaining information or "data" about this social world have changed considerably in the last decade. No longer do most social scientists rely on intuition, speculation, or casual observation. Although it is difficult to compose a list of the essentials of the "scientific method" that all its practitioners would agree upon, there is consensus that science is an organized method for the discovery of knowledge.

The studies in this book use a variety of research methods and

¹ Derek L. Phillips (ed.), *Studies in American Society: I* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1965).

² James B. Conant, *On Understanding Science* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947).

techniques in attempting to acquire knowledge about various aspects of American society. While differing from one another according to the particular problems or questions being investigated, the six studies are similar in two respects: (1) they share a conviction that there exists an order of things in nature and, more specifically, that the behavior of human beings, like other natural phenomena, shows regular and recurrent patterns; and (2) they emphasize the appropriateness of employing scientific procedures in discovering and accounting for these patterns.

These six studies appeared originally as volumes averaging almost four hundred pages in length. Clearly, works of such magnitude cannot be condensed adequately within a book of this size. Therefore, the intent of this book is to present, for each of the studies, a representative or central portion of the full-length book. As with the first volume, the selections retain the wording of their authors and differ from the parent studies only in the following respects: (1) A few passages and footnotes of secondary importance are omitted when such omission does not seriously affect the general substance of the selection. (2) A simple phrase or sentence is occasionally inserted to effect a suitable transition when material has been omitted. (3) Footnotes, tables, and graphs are renumbered, and the original graphs redrawn, to conform to the style of this volume.

All of these studies are preceded by short introductions that attempt to provide the reader with an overview of the various studies and the research designs employed. These introductory statements can, of course, do little more than familiarize students with the research focus and data-gathering techniques of the various studies. Hopefully, these introductions, taken together with the selections presented, will whet the appetite of the serious student, so that he will undertake a full reading of the original works.

In order to alert the reader as to what lies ahead, we now turn to a brief discussion of the subject matter of each of the six studies. The first reading, *Party and Society*, is concerned with the relationship between social class position and voting preference. Alford

attempts to determine whether workers are coming to resemble middle-class persons in their party loyalties. In the second essay, *Men Who Manage*, Dalton is concerned with behavior in bureaucratic organizations. His particular focus is on problems related to advancement through the organizational hierarchy of one large manufacturing plant. Next, in *Strangers Next Door*, Robin Williams and his associates present an analysis of data pertaining to patterns of segregation, discrimination, and conflict. The fourth reading, *Group Process and Gang Delinquency*, by Short and Strodtbeck, explores various aspects of the behavior of lower-class gang boys in Chicago. In *The Urban Villagers*, Herbert Gans reports on life in the West End of Boston, an area often characterized as a slum. Finally, in *Blue-Collar Marriage*, Mirra Komarovsky presents an account of marriage among manual or "blue-collar" workers and their wives.

Using empirical methods, these six studies add considerably to our knowledge of human behavior and social processes in American society. But in addition to the acquisition of knowledge about our society, it is hoped that some students may "recognize" themselves in these studies. For it is through the process of self-recognition and self-discovery that individuals acquire a new way of seeing. They are enabled to view themselves and their society from a vastly different vantage point; and they may achieve what Peter Berger has called "the precarious vision."³

³ Peter L. Berger, *The Precarious Vision: A Sociologist Looks at Social Fictions and Christian Faith* (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

Party and Society*

ROBERT R. ALFORD

A number of research studies have sought to establish the relationship between a person's behavior and his social class position. Modes of sexual behavior,¹ techniques of child-rearing,² rates of mental illness,³ and politico-economic behavior⁴ have each been found to relate to the position of individuals in the status hierarchy. In his Party and Society, Robert Alford examines the relationship between social class and voting preference. His primary research focus is on the effects of social class position upon party loyalties in four Anglo-American Democracies.

Alford's study is a noteworthy example of the method of "secondary analysis." His procedure is to analyze data from more than fifty public opinion surveys previously conducted by others in four Western democracies: the United States, Great Britain, Canada,

* The material reprinted here is from Chapter 8 of *Party and Society* by Robert R. Alford. Copyright © 1963 by Rand McNally & Company. Reprinted by permission.

¹ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1958).

² Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *Inner Conflict and Defense* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1960).

³ Leo Srole, Thomas S. Langner, Stanley T. Michael, Marvin K. Opler, and Thomas A. C. Rennie, *Mental Health in the Metropolis* (New York: McGraw, 1962).

⁴ Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: Wiley, 1960).

and Australia. The surveys had sought answers to a great number of questions about occupational, religious, and political affiliations in the nations studied. The appropriateness of such a body of data to Alford's purpose is clearly indicated by Charles Glock in his foreword to *Party and Society*: "It is a characteristic of these [public opinion] surveys that they collect far more information than the investigators are concerned with or are able to use. Often, in fact, only the data having commercial or news value are culled, while great amounts of more fundamental, more interesting, and more complex information remain untouched and unheralded. . . . Often, the same or similar questions have been asked repeatedly in surveys taken at different times or in different countries, making parallel data available not only over time but across cultures. These materials comprise a unique and rich body of knowledge on contemporary societies throughout the world. At relatively small cost, they can be subjected to secondary analysis for a wide variety of scholarly purposes. . . . So far, however, they have been largely untapped."

In examining the data, Alford's main line of inquiry is to determine whether the sources of "political cleavage"—of differing political loyalties—vary among the four nations, and whether the sources of cleavage change with time. The principal source of cleavage is social class position, which Alford measures by occupational status. He employs as an index of class voting the difference between the proportion of their total vote manual workers gave and the proportion of their total vote non-manual workers gave to the "left" party during the years 1952-1962. Great Britain exhibited the most class voting, followed by Australia, the United States, and Canada. Differences in the degree of class voting among the four countries were maintained when class voting in each country was examined within different age groups, among Protestants and Catholics, in large cities, and within the regions highest and lowest in amount of class voting.

Forces other than class division did, however, play an important part in voting differences. Regionalism was found to be an independent source of political cleavage in the United States and

Canada, and religious differences proved significant in the United States, Canada, and Australia. Although these other factors influenced voting preferences, social class exercised a greater effect than either regionalism or religion. Alford concludes that class position is the principal source of political cleavage, and that class voting in the four Anglo-American Democracies is not declining.

The section of Alford's work presented here is concerned with class voting in the United States. In a careful analysis, he examines trends in class voting since the depression years of the 1930's, and the effects on class voting of regionalism, religion, and subjective class identification (respondents had characterized themselves as either "working" or "middle" class). He discusses the findings in light of the work of previous investigators and, in considering the influences of region and religion, comments upon the seemingly inconsistent trends of class voting in the United States.

Party and Society is an outstanding example of the harvest an imaginative scholar can reap from what others might have thought fallow data. Although results of public opinion studies have been accumulating in many different countries, and although there is increased access to such survey materials, relatively few secondary analyses have been made. Alford's work, a pioneer effort of this approach, should serve as a model for future explorations.

The United States: The Politics of Diversity

Social class and political behavior are not as closely associated in the United States as they are in Australia and Great Britain. In several surveys of the national electorate taken from 1952 to 1960, the average level of class voting (the difference in Democratic voting between manual and non-manual occupational strata) was 16 percentage points. This contrasts with average figures of 40 percentage points for Great Britain, 33 for Australia, and 8 for Canada. The national political parties in the United States are not as clearly distinguished by their class support as are the parties in Great Britain and Australia.

Diversity in the United States

... The parties in the United States are not explicitly linked to class organizations and do not appeal for support on the basis of class. However, voters do see the parties as linked to specific class interests, and probably many people vote in accordance with an image of the parties as representing their economic interests. These are perhaps the most important reasons why class voting is relatively low and yet still exists.

A number of characteristics of American society and its political system undoubtedly reduce the level of class voting further. The enormous size of the country, its division into fifty states with real degrees of sovereignty, tremendous ethnic and religious diversity, and a decentralized party structure, all reduce the salience of *national* class divisions as the main bases for party cleavages. The decentralized, undisciplined character of American parties makes them difficult to distinguish from pressure groups or from combinations of interest groups. The party system thus reflects the federal, plural character of both American society and the governmental system. As the author of a recent study of American federalism put it, "a powerful 'pressure group' at the national level may be very closely identified with a State or local party in one or more States, yet prefer to remain aloof from the national party battle in order to maintain freedom to exert pressure upon both parties when tactics require it."¹ That national class divisions exist and divide the parties even as distinctly as they do, is a measure of the degree of economic and political integration the United States has achieved.

The diversity of support for the political parties has been shown by a series of studies of voting—more studies than for any of the other countries considered—and this chapter will not reiterate their findings in detail. The initial study, which set a pattern for subsequent research in both the United States and Great Britain, was *The People's Choice*; this was a survey of voting behavior in Erie

¹ M. J. C. Vile, *The Structure of American Federalism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 92.

County, Ohio, in the 1940 presidential election.² Since it embraced only one northern city and its environs, the regional economic and political diversity of the United States presumably did not affect voting behavior. Still, social class, religion, and rural-urban differences were found crucially to affect the political loyalties of voters. Having a low income, being a Catholic, or living in an urban environment, all predisposed voters toward the Democrats; having a high income, being a Protestant, or living in a rural environment predisposed voters toward the Republicans. The study focused on the consequences of "contradictory" social characteristics that presumably pushed people in opposite political directions—the now classic notion of "cross-pressure." A relatively high proportion of persons in Erie County was under cross-pressure, indicating that the diversity of sources of political loyalties is great in the United States.³

The main problem [here] will be not to explain the class or religious or regional bases for party support in the United States but to determine whether class voting has declined since the 1930's, and in which religious or regional groups.

Despite their diversity of support and their ambiguous class base (compared to the British and Australian parties), American political parties are both perceived as supported by, and actually are supported by, persons at different occupational, educational, and income levels, although, as in the other countries, a sizable minority votes for the "other" party. Since voting studies have also made

² P. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

³ Other such voting studies are: B. Berelson, P. Lazarsfeld, and W. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), and a series of studies done by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan beginning with the presidential election of 1948. These are reported in A. Campbell, G. Gurin, and W. E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954); Angus Campbell and Homer C. Cooper, *Group Differences in Attitudes and Votes* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, The University of Michigan, 1956), and A. Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter* (New York: Wiley, 1960). For a summary of the findings of many voting studies, see S. M. Lipset, *Political Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1960), chaps. vii, viii, ix.

this point clearly, there is no need to go into details. The authors of a study of the 1954 congressional election summarized their results as follows:

Our data make it evident that a number of the major population categories have a persistent inclination toward one or the other of the two parties. The major theme of this group orientation in voting is social class. The prestige groups—educational, economic—are the most dependable sources of Republican support while the laborers, Negroes, unemployed, and other low-income and low-education groups are the strongest sources of the Democratic vote.⁴

And the parties can be distinguished as representing Left and Right positions. According to Max Beloff:

If we take the simple view that there is, other things being equal, likely to be one party of the rich and one party of the poor, the Republicans fill the bill for the former, and outside the South the Democrats fill it for the latter. The former accept roughly the justice of the present distribution of worldly goods between classes and regions; the latter by and large welcome government intervention to alter it.⁵

The phrases "by and large" and "other things being equal" hide a multitude of contradictions in the policies and voting patterns of Democratic and Republican legislators, but if that statement is accepted as substantially correct, the class bases of the major American parties are understandable. Another compilation of poll data from seven national polls conducted from 1944 to 1952 found that two-and-one-half times as many business and professional people thought the Republicans best served their interests as thought the Democrats did, and that seven times as many unskilled workers and four times as many skilled workers thought the Democrats best served their interests as thought the Republicans did. Whether or not the parties actually served their interests better is, of course, not proved by these images of the parties, but this evidence at least

⁴ Campbell and Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵ Max Beloff, *The American Federal Government* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 157-58.

shows that American voting behavior is roughly in line with voters' conceptions of their own interests.⁶

Ideologically, party leaders in the United States are even more divided than voters. A recent study of Democratic and Republican leaders (delegates to national conventions) and followers (a national sample of voters) compared opinions on a number of issues. Republican and Democratic leaders were much farther apart than their followers on issues related to class. The ideology of Republican leaders reflected their managerial, proprietary, and high-status connections; the ideology of Democratic leaders, their labor, minority, low-status, and intellectual connections.⁷

But, regardless of the current situations, has the association of class and vote declined since the 1930's? It is by now a commonplace notion that the salience of class for voting was less in the prosperous 1950's than it was in the depressed 1930's.⁸ A recent study found a decline of class voting in the period 1948 to 1956, which appears to document the decreasing importance of social class for voting behavior. The authors of *The American Voter* computed an index of "status polarization" which showed that the correlation between the occupational status of respondents and their partisan vote in three separate national surveys in 1948, 1952, and 1956 dropped from 0.44 to 0.26 to 0.12.⁹ According to the authors:

The most striking feature of the polarization trend in the recent past has been the steady and rapid depolarization between 1948 and 1956. This decline occurred in a post-war period when the nation was enjoying a

⁶ Harold Orlans, "Opinion Polls on National Leaders," Series 1953, Report No. 6 (Philadelphia and Washington: Institute for Research in Human Relations), pp. 71-73. The author points out that almost exactly as many white-collar workers pick the Democrats as pick the Republicans, and that this corresponds to their "middle" position.

⁷ H. McClosky, P. J. Hoffman, and R. O'Hara, "Issue Conflict and Consensus among Party Leaders and Followers," *American Political Science Review*, LIV (June, 1960), 406-27. The finding holds when various demographic factors are controlled.

⁸ See, for example, V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups* (4th ed.; New York: Crowell, 1958), p. 274.

⁹ Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

striking ascent to prosperity and a consequent release from the pressing economic concerns that had characterized the Depression.¹⁰

The way that this decline of "status polarization" is explained is also relevant here, because the authors infer that changes have taken place since the 1930's, although they have no specific evidence of such changes. A substitute for this is evidence on the status polarization (or class voting, the term which will be used henceforth to avoid confusion) among different age-groups. In their 1948 and 1952 surveys, a marked "depression-effect" was found. Persons in their twenties and thirties during the depression of the 1930's (presumably those most affected by it) exhibited the highest level of class voting. In 1956, this was not evident, and the authors conclude that this illustrates the "fading effects of the Depression."¹¹

This finding of highest class voting among the depression generation does not contradict the usual inference that persons in such a generation should be more similar in their political attitudes and behavior than persons not sharing this common experience. Another study of American voting behavior which specifically focused upon the problem of generational differences found that the depression generation (those who were born in the period 1913-1922) was likely to be more Democratic—regardless of sex, occupation, income, or other social differences.¹² In spite of the Michigan finding that manual and non-manual strata in the depression generation are farther apart in their voting patterns than any other age groups, political consensus is still present. Both strata were affected similarly by the Democratic political currents. These two findings reflect the relative independence of the absolute level of vote for a party from the level of class cleavage.

But the Michigan results may not reflect the actual voting patterns in the 1930's. Their results are for persons interviewed in the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹² Jane O'Grady, "Political Generations: An Empirical Analysis" (Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of California, 1960).

1940's and 1950's, divided by age. That age differences at one point in time truly reflect past behavior and the differential impact of a historical crisis is an inference which may or may not be justified. Data to be presented may clarify the real patterns of class voting and the change in those patterns since the 1930's.

The decline of class voting between 1948 and 1956 is linked by the authors of *The American Voter* to "increasing prosperity and fading memories of the Great Depression of the 1930's." These two factors should imply a continuing decrease of class voting since the 1930's. But the authors must account for another of their own empirical findings—that class-voting was lower in 1944 than in 1948, after which it dropped almost linearly. They suggest that variations in the importance of domestic economic versus foreign policy issues account for this change: When economic issues are important, class voting tends to rise; when non-economic issues, such as foreign policy, are important, class voting tends to drop. ". . . war is a basic public concern that may eclipse those problems of domestic economics leading to cleavage among status interest groups."¹³ The authors thus infer what the patterns of class voting *might* have been during the 1930's. Presumably class voting should have been high in the elections of 1932 and 1936, when class issues were dominant. With World War II, "national" issues superseded class ones, and class voting should have been lower in 1940 and 1944. As Campbell *et al.* put it, "Polarization tendencies carrying over from the Great Depression may have been dampened as a result of the national crisis posed by the Second World War, rebounding upward after that conflict was concluded." Domestic economic issues again became important, resulting in the rise of class voting in 1948. After this peak, "the renewal of the threat of global war and the outbreak of hostilities in Korea may have acted, in concert with increasing prosperity, to depress the level of status polarization [class voting] once again."¹⁴

These inferences are logical ones from the standpoint of the

¹³ Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, *op. cit.*, pp. 360–61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

data available to the authors of that study and are relevant to [our] main problem: whether class voting has declined since the 1930's. . . . This particular problem is not of primary concern to these authors, since they are focusing upon "short-term" fluctuations. These inferences as to declining class voting certainly imply that a long-term decline of the importance of social class in the support of the American parties has taken place. But has it?

Trends in Class Voting Since the 1930's

Although fluctuations in the level of class voting have occurred in the period 1936 to 1960, there is some evidence that no consistent decline has taken place. Before the evidence for this conclusion is presented, a brief recapitulation of the assumptions upon which the measure of class voting is based is in order.

In estimating the importance of the class bases of politics, shifts to the Right or to the Left should be minimized because they blur the differences between social strata. In such political systems as the Anglo-American ones, shifts usually occur in the same direction in all politically relevant social groups. A shift to the Right such as the Eisenhower victories in 1952 and 1956 could conceivably be regarded as a decline in the importance of social class as a determinant of political behavior. It is probably true that a large vote for Eisenhower among workers meant that class identifications were less important in those elections than in that of 1948, for example. But it is contended here that only if the *gap* between manual and non-manual support of a party has lessened can one speak meaningfully of a decline of class voting. The data presented in *The American Voter* show without question that not only did all social groups vote more Republican in 1952 and 1956 than they did in 1948, but that *in addition* social classes moved closer together. But, was this part of a long-term decline of the importance of the class bases of politics? Or was this only a fluctuation within the "normal range" of change of the class bases of American politics, given the social and political structure of American society in this historical period?

Figure 1 shows the level of Democratic voting among manual and non-manual occupational groups from 1936 to 1960. Considerable shifting in the Democratic vote is evident, although class voting was not sharply different in the 1950's from the 1930's. About two-thirds of the manual workers voted Democratic in the three elections between 1936 and 1944; their Democratic vote rose sharply in 1948, dropped just as sharply in 1952 and 1956, then rose back to about 60 per cent in 1960. Among the middle class, the Democratic vote stayed between 40 and 50 per cent between 1936 and 1944, dropped below 40 per cent in the following three elections, and rose again to 46 per cent in 1960. The only election in which both strata moved in sharply opposite directions was 1948, which might be termed a "non-consensual election." If that election had been chosen as the beginning of a time-series, the end of class voting might have been predicted, but data for the longer period indicate that 1948 was exceptional.

No pattern of consistent decline of class voting is thus evident, and its level reached that of Britain and Australia only in the 1948 election. Nor has the level of class voting dropped to the average Canadian level in any election. It may be concluded from the evidence presented in Figure 1 that there has been no substantial shift in the class bases of American politics since the 1930's despite the prosperity since World War II and despite the shifts to the Right in the Eisenhower era.¹⁵

¹⁵ The figures for middle-class and working-class voting patterns given in Heinz Eulau, *Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), p. 2, are not comparable to those presented here because Eulau utilized a measure of class based upon a combination of the occupation, income, and education of the respondent. The percentage-point difference in Democratic preferences of the middle class and working class, defined in this way, was 24 in 1952 and only 4 in 1956. Eulau's study was a secondary analysis of the two Michigan election surveys. Actually, for 1956, he dropped income as a component of the class index with the rather curious justification that "it proved so variable as an indicator that it seriously undermined the stability of the index and interfered with the comparability of results" (p. 45). One might ask how results can be comparable if different procedures are used to compute a major index. The variability of the effect of income may reflect the varying effect upon political behavior from election to election of different components of stratification.

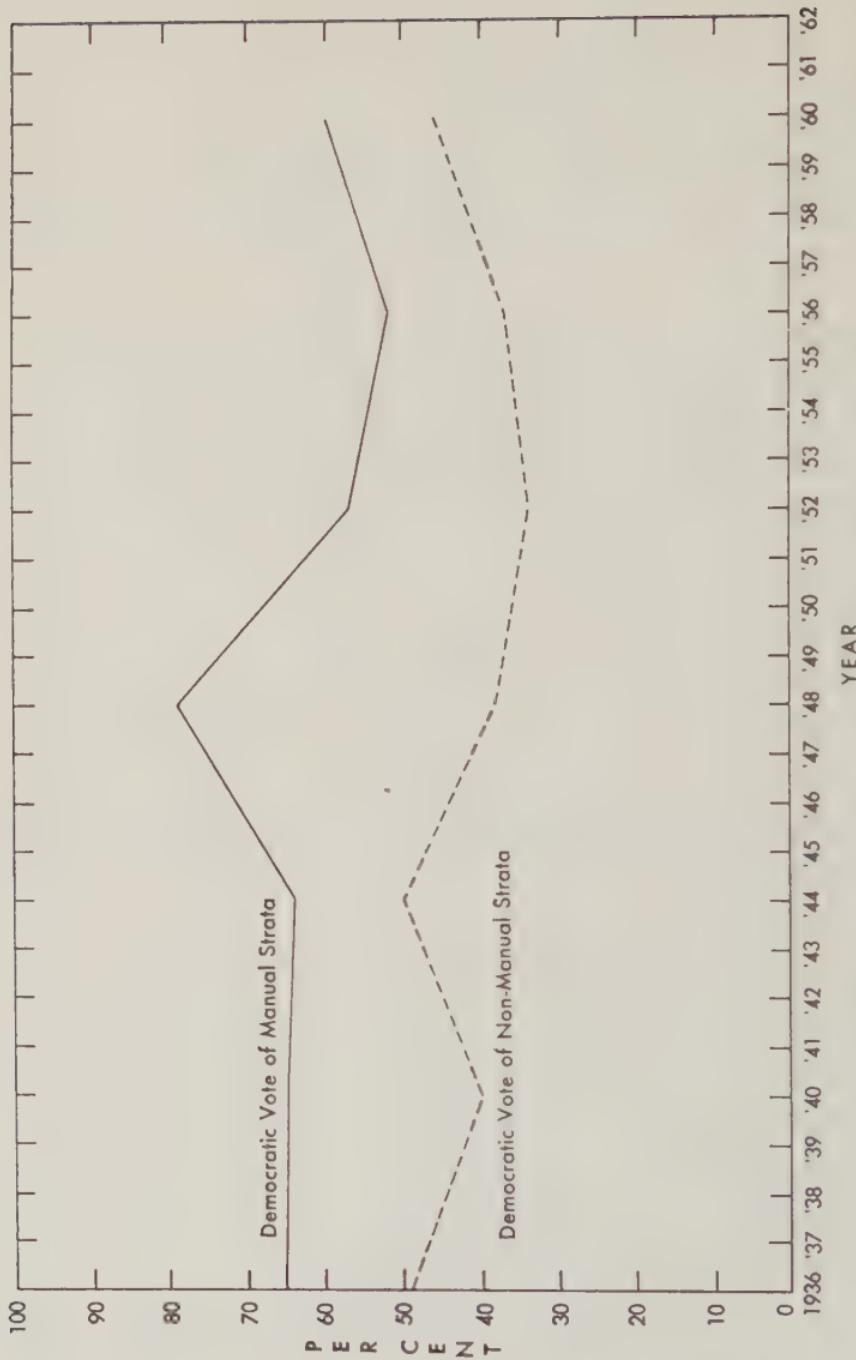


Figure I. Class Voting in the United States, 1936-1960

The level of class voting found in the various community studies is fairly consistent with the national figures. The 1940 study of Erie County, Ohio, found that class voting was 17. The county at that time had a small and stable population of about 43,000, slightly more than half of which lived in the industrial town of Sandusky. Almost all of the population was native-born white, and the authors described it as largely working-class, with a "cultural and social life . . . perhaps not atypical of the middle western small-town and rural section . . . a 'church town.'"¹⁶

A later study of the 1948 election in Elmira, New York, found that "the business, professional and white-collar groups supported the Republicans fully 75 per cent; the workers split their vote almost fifty-fifty."¹⁷ Assuming that this description corresponds to a manual-non-manual division, this is a level of class voting of about 24-26, considerably lower than the national level of 41 discovered by a Michigan study. Elmira in 1948 was a Republican community of slightly over 50,000, and class voting might be expected to be lower there than in the larger cities. Detroit in 1957-58 had a level of class voting of 32, much higher than the national level.¹⁸

The national data also permit some evaluation of the thesis of the authors of *The American Voter* concerning the causes of more short-term fluctuation of class voting. Class voting was not high in 1936, quite the contrary. Two separate national Gallup samples in 1936 show that class voting was as low in that year as in any subsequent year.¹⁹ Figure 1 shows that this low level was due to heavy Democratic voting by persons in non-manual occupations.

¹⁶ Lazarsfeld *et al.*, *The People's Choice*, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. The level of class voting was computed from a table on page 19, which shows that when socio-economic status (as judged by an interviewer) was held constant, occupation made little additional difference in voting patterns.

¹⁷ Berelson *et al.*, *Voting*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁸ Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (New York: Doubleday, 1961). The figure was recomputed from a table on page 125. Of course, it is impossible to know whether class voting dropped in either city from 1952 to 1958.

¹⁹ Note that a percentage point difference of at least 8 may be due to errors of calculation, rounding, and other minor errors, so that no stress is laid on individual surveys, elections, or percentages.

All social strata felt a "need for a change" and voted Democratic accordingly. Social classes were not polarized by the class issues of the 1930's, but were attracted to the party that promised change.

Why the "depression-generation" in the later surveys conducted by the Michigan Survey Research Center exhibited more class voting is an interesting question which cannot be fully explored here. Possibly during such periods of crisis a consensus on the proper political path emerges. But after the crisis is over, the *memory* of the crisis assumes a different meaning for different social strata. In this case, for workers, the memory of the crisis reinforced their Democratic allegiances; for the middle class, it reinforced their Republican attachments, since the actual legislation carried out in the crisis period furthered the centralization of government which many see as furthered by Democratic office-holders.

Thus, the inference by the authors of *The American Voter* that class voting is likely to be higher in elections in which domestic economic issues are salient is weakened by some data from 1936. Their inference is also weakened by the rise of class voting in 1940, an election in which presumably the issues of foreign policy rather than issues of class were dominant. The drop in 1944 is also not consistent, since by that time the issues of national interest were abating, and domestic economic conflicts were again assuming importance. But, the purpose here is not to debate the salience of different issues in different elections. The main point is that no inference that class voting is declining can be made from evidence from great numbers of surveys ranging from 1936 to 1960.

Somewhat unreliable data from 1928 and 1932 reinforce, if anything, the conclusion that class voting has not declined since the 1930's. The League of Women Voters gathered 8,419 interviews in twenty-seven states two weeks prior to the 1932 presidential elections. The difference between the Democratic presidential vote of factory workers, on the one hand, and managers or semi-professionals, on the other, was 10 percentage points in 1928 and 22 points in 1932, as Table 1 shows. The Democratic vote went up in all occupational groups from 1928 to 1932 (again showing the con-

sensus that a change was needed), but it increased much more among factory workers, and their greater swing accounts for the increase in class voting.

If any credence at all can be placed in these data, they are further evidence that no decline of class voting has taken place—only a fluctuation around a fairly stable class base for the political parties—since the early 1930's. The League survey is not reported . . . because of the unreliability and lack of comparability of the data. Its sampling accuracy may be judged from its finding that Roosevelt

Table 1. Democratic Preference, by Occupation, United States, 1928-1932

| OCCUPATION | PER CENT VOTING DEMOCRATIC | |
|--|----------------------------|-----------|
| | 1928 | 1932 |
| Professional | 25 (2227)* | 30 (2215) |
| Semi-Professional and Managerial | 21 (1701) | 28 (1790) |
| Clerical and Skilled | 24 (2130) | 35 (2468) |
| Factory Worker | 31 (334) | 50 (427) |
| Difference between Highest and Lowest Percentages | +10 | +22 |

Source: Recomputed from estimates in Samuel P. Hayes, Jr., "The Interrelations of Political Attitudes: IV: Political Attitudes and Party Regularity," *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (1939), 504-5. Since clerical workers and skilled tradesmen are combined in his tables, it is impossible to compute a comparable index of class voting. Class voting has been exaggerated, if anything, by using the manual and non-manual occupational groups which were farthest apart in their Democratic voting. The respondents were asked how they voted in 1928 and how they intended to vote in 1932. If the 1932 Thomas vote in each occupation is added to the 1932 Roosevelt vote, the parallel percentage-point difference is +20.

* Total number of respondents in parentheses.

received 30 per cent of the 1932 voting preferences in the survey. Nevertheless, differences between occupational groups are, as stated previously, less subject to sampling error than the actual marginal totals or proportions.

This conclusion holds for congressional as well as presidential

elections. Surveys asking about congressional voting in 1946 and 1954, and party identification (whether a person considers himself a "Democrat" or a "Republican," regardless of his actual voting intention) in 1954 and 1958 were also available (the data are not given here in detail), and the index of class voting ranged from 16 to 21. Thus, since several surveys were available for different elections, there can be little doubt that the association of social class and voting behavior has not permanently changed.

Before we can accept the conclusion that class voting has not declined, it is important to consider where it may have declined or where it may have actually increased. Trends in various regions of the United States, as well as among various religious groups, may offer a clue as to the future role of social class in American politics. It is not at all clear, for example, that class voting will remain as low as it is. The disappearance of the loyalties of middle-class southerners to the Democratic party, when and if it occurs, may mean a rise of class voting and therefore a realignment of the social bases of the parties more upon class lines. And the possible dwindling of special religious and ethnic loyalties to the parties may have similar consequences. American political scientist Clinton Rossiter has suggested that in the future:

the influence of class on political behavior and allegiance may become even more visible than it is today, especially as the influences of ethnology and religion fade ever so slowly but steadily from view. . . . we are still a long way from the class struggle in American politics, but that does not mean that class consciousness is a negligible factor. To the contrary, it must inevitably become a more important factor as Americans become ever more alert to the rewards and symbols of status.²⁰

The specific questions which can be answered from the survey data include the following: Has class voting declined or increased in any United States region? and Does this change seem to be related to any pervasive social changes taking place—such as urbanization?

²⁰ Clinton Rossiter, *Parties and Politics in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 166.

zation or industrialization? We might expect that if any trend toward the political re-integration of the South is evident, class voting might have increased in that region since the early 1940's. On the other hand, in the most urbanized and older regions, such as New England or the Middle Atlantic states, class voting might have declined from a formerly high level, somewhat like the pattern in the London metropolitan area of Great Britain. These two trends—in the South and East—might cancel each other out to produce the over-all lack of change of class voting. Or we might find that class voting is higher in the urban South than in the rest of the South and infer that this is a sign of impending change of the social bases of southern politics and an omen of a future national realignment more along class lines.

Similarly, trends in the class voting patterns of Protestants and Catholics may foreshadow the future. It is possible that class voting has dropped among Protestants but increased among Catholics to cancel each other out as far as an over-all index is concerned. The diversity of politics in the United States implies that a single measure of the importance of a single factor for voting behavior is almost meaningless unless the relationship is examined in various other subgroups of the population.

Regionalism and Class Voting

The sectional character of American politics is a commonplace and needs no documentation. Many states, not only in the South, have had a traditional alignment with one of the major parties. This has meant that each of the parties has long cherished a sectional stronghold within which the other party had little chance of winning legislative representation.

... in 1904 less than one-seventh of the population of the United States lived in states in which the parties contested the election on relatively equal terms, while in 1920 only about 12 million out of 105 million Amer-

icans lived in states in which they had a choice between two major parties both of which had some prospect of winning.²¹

And, as V. O. Key puts it:

Sectionalism . . . contributes to the multiclass composition of each of the major parties, a characteristic bewildering to those who regard only a class politics as "natural." A politics that arrays the people of one section against those of another pulls into one party men of all social strata. A common interest bound the southern banker, merchant, cotton farmer, and wage earner together against the northern combination of finance, manufacturing, and segments of industrial labor.²²

One major question which can be answered by survey data, but which is not as readily answerable from ecological studies of the voting patterns of social areas, is whether class voting is actually substantially lower in areas such as the South. The second major question of concern here is, of course, whether class voting has declined in any major regions or whether it has increased, particularly in the South. Since the South is the chief example of political regionalism, and since its special role in the Congress has important political consequences for the nation, the voting patterns of the South will be of primary interest in the discussion of regionalism.

Southern politics is a one-party politics dominated by extremely conservative elements which distort the national party pattern by introducing a Right bias within the Democratic party, the major Left party of the nation. A few examples of the voting patterns of southern Democrats will show this internal contradiction within the Democratic party. On many clearly Left-Right issues in the 1960 Congress, the southern Democrats lined up with the Republicans. In a vote on a housing bill, thirty-five of the forty House Democrats who voted against the bill were southerners. (Only thirteen Republicans voted for the bill.)²³ In a vote on a bill pro-

²¹ E. E. Schattschneider, "United States: The Functional Approach to Party Government," in Sigmund Neumann, ed., *Modern Political Parties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 203-4.

²² Key, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

²³ *New York Times*, April 28, 1960, p. 12.

viding relief for areas suffering chronic unemployment, only one of the eleven Democrats voting against it was not a southerner.²⁴ In the 1962 session, the coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans appeared repeatedly. Typical are examples from House action on two bills on September 20. The House defeated a Republican-led drive to send the foreign aid bill back to committee. Of the sixty-five Democrats who were for referral (against the bill), sixty were southerners.²⁵ The farm bill, brought up the same day, was passed in spite of twenty-six southerners who were among the thirty-seven Democrats who opposed it.²⁶ These particular bills indicate again that the southerners are a conservative block on every type of issue, even on those presumably favoring their agricultural constituents.

Add to these voting patterns the dominance of southerners on key committees that determine which legislation shall come before the whole House of Representatives—a dominance due to their long seniority and lack of opposition—and some measure of the strength of the role of the South in American national politics is evident.²⁷ It is therefore of both practical and theoretical importance if the regional loyalties of southerners are being replaced by political cleavages similar to those exhibited by other regions.

Table 2 and Figure 2 show the trends and levels of class voting in different United States regions from 1944 to 1960. Table 3 summarizes results.

As with previous findings concerning the over-all level of class voting, there is no consistent pattern of change affecting all regions similarly. The political diversity of America remains great in this respect—that the degree of variation of class voting over time within and between the major regions of the country is considerable. The Eisenhower elections marked not a dwindling of this difference, but an intensification of it. If the single survey available for 1948 is

²⁴ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1960, p. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1962, p. 5. Of the thirty-four Republicans against referral, nineteen were from heavily urbanized states.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1962, p. 4. Only two Republicans favored the farm bill.

²⁷ See V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949), Part 2.

Table 2. Democratic Preference, by Occupation Type and Region, United States, 1944-1960

| OCCUPATION TYPE | NEW ENGLAND | MIDDLE ATLANTIC | EAST CENTRAL | WEST CENTRAL | SOUTH | MOUNTAIN | PACIFIC | TOTAL |
|------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| <i>1944</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>1948</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>1952 (Sample No. 1)</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>1952 (Sample No. 2)</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Manual | 77 (109)* | 62 (330) | 62 (257) | 68 (139) | 75 (103) | 62 (71) | 71 (110) | 66 (1,119) |
| Non-Manual | 48 (93) | 50 (268) | 38 (231) | 38 (118) | 64 (108) | 33 (57) | 45 (85) | 46 (960) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +29 | +12 | +24 | +30 | +11 | +29 | +26 | +20 |
| Manual | 54 (94) | 47 (319) | 51 (243) | 55 (117) | 69 (81) | 54 (69) | 50 (114) | 52 (1,037) |
| Non-Manual | 29 (88) | 31 (249) | .27 (255) | 30 (113) | 53 (86) | 47 (38) | 32 (112) | 32 (941) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +25 | +16 | +24 | +25 | +16 | +7 | +18 | +20 |
| Manual | 55 (56) | 53 (137) | 55 (156) | 59 (73) | 57 (189) | 62 (21) | 60 (65) | 56 (697) |
| Non-Manual | 29 (34) | 30 (97) | 30 (128) | 33 (54) | 47 (122) | 27 (11) | 27 (56) | 34 (502) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +26 | +23 | +25 | +26 | +10 | +35 | +33 | +22 |
| Manual | 46 (140) | 43 (488) | 44 (460) | 51 (178) | 47 (665) | 45 (69) | 54 (224) | 47 (2,224) |
| Non-Manual | 23 (110) | 31 (386) | 28 (336) | 20 (136) | 36 (429) | 20 (75) | 36 (208) | 30 (1,681) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +23 | +12 | +16 | +31 | +11 | +25 | +18 | +17 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| Manual | 38 (42) | 47 (104) | 46 (65) | 61 (46) | 53 (105) | 62 (16) | 65 (49) | 52 (427) |
| Non-Manual | 14 (22) | 30 (70) | 39 (46) | 30 (33) | 50 (44) | 37 (8) | 46 (39) | 36 (262) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +24 | +17 | +7 | +31 | +3 | +25 | +19 | +16 |

1960 (Sample No. 1)

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|------------|
| Manual | 67 (67) | 64 (370) | 57 (302) | 54 (120) | 60 (317) | 62 (37) | 53 (137) | 60 (1,350) |
| Non-Manual | 68 (97) | 57 (295) | 30 (228) | 36 (121) | 42 (173) | 48 (60) | 42 (154) | 45 (1,128) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | -1 | +7 | +27 | +18 | +18 | +14 | +11 | +15 |

1960 (Sample No. 2)

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|---------|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| Manual | 60 (43) | 61 (147) | 64 (179) | 60 (53) | 56 (190) | 72 (29) | 57 (70) | 60 (711) |
| Non-Manual | 50 (52) | 52 (198) | 43 (167) | 34 (76) | 47 (258) | 52 (44) | 44 (141) | 46 (936) |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +10 | +9 | +21 | +26 | +9 | +20 | +13 | +14 |

Sources: 1944: AIPD Survey No. 323; 1948: AIPD Survey No. 423; Sample No. 1—Michigan 1952 Survey, otherwise reported in A. Campbell, G. Gurin, and W. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), Sample No. 2—tabulated from the IBM cards available for the survey reported in Samuel Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday; 1955); 1956: AIPD Survey No. 573; 1960: AIPD Survey No. 636K and Roper Survey No. 75. With one exception, the regions correspond to the census classification.

* Total number of respondents is in parentheses.

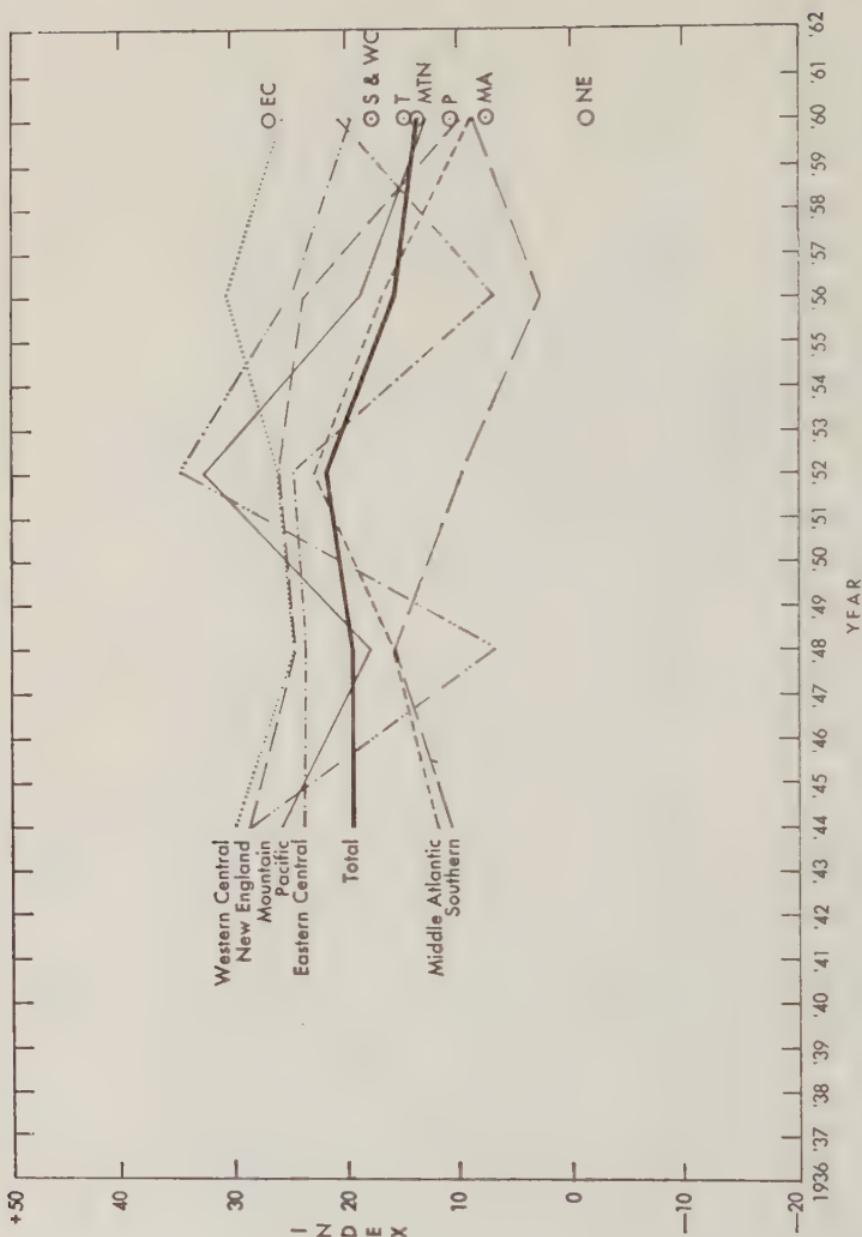


Figure 2. Class Voting in United States Regions, 1944-1960

representative of the electoral shifts in that year, the major regions—save for the “Mountain” region—drew closer together in that year—a “class” election—than in any other between 1944 and 1960.²⁸

In these surveys, the over-all level of class voting varied between 14 and 22, while the highest level reached achieved in any region was 35, and the lowest was —1. Unfortunately, sampling error is so great for particular regional figures that trends within regions cannot be regarded as reliable, and the few generalizations to be offered must be regarded as speculative. An attempt to discern some regular difference between regions in the average level of class voting is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 lists the number of times each region was found in a certain rank when the level of class voting was computed for each

Table 3. Rank Order of Class Voting in United States Regions

| REGION* | FREQUENCY OF RANK | | | | | | | RANK-INDEX |
|--------------|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th | 7th | |
| West Central | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 10 |
| Mountain | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 14 |
| New England | 1 | 1 | 3 | | 1‡ | | 1‡ | 24 |
| East Central | 1‡ | 1‡ | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 26 |
| Pacific | | 1 | | 4 | 2 | | | 28 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | 2 | 5 | | 40 |
| South | | 1‡ | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 40 |

* See Appendix D for the composition of the regions based on the various definitions.

† Ties were counted twice; then the next rank was skipped. The maximum possible index score is +49; the minimum, +7.

‡ The deviations from the usual rank order found in two 1960 surveys.

Source: Derived from Table 2.

²⁸ These inferences are advanced with caution. The definitions of regions are not consistent for every survey, and in the single 1948 survey available, the rise of the over-all level of class voting found in the Michigan survey does not appear. Even so, the regional pattern which it portrays may be found in other 1948 surveys.

region. It is noteworthy that most of the sharpest deviations from the usual pattern were found in 1960 surveys, particularly in regions where a pro-Catholic or anti-Catholic effect might have been expected: New England and the South. Class voting in New England was actually -1 in one survey. Further analysis by religion showed that this effect was indeed due to the Catholic vote, since class voting among Protestants was +22. Class voting in the South was higher in this election than in any since 1948, and the South ranked second in level of 1960 class voting in at least one survey.

No dwindling of the political diversity of America's regions appears from these data, therefore, and no apparent trend toward the reintegration of the South is found. There is also little evidence that the more urbanized regions such as New England or the Middle Atlantic states have high levels of class voting. . . . It seemed plausible to predict that class voting would be higher rather than lower in the regions both older and more urbanized in the United States, unlike Great Britain, because of the disappearance in urban and long-settled areas of various parochial political loyalties interfering with the emergence of class-based politics. No pattern of that kind seems to exist in the United States as yet.²⁹

No detailed exploration of the regional regularities can be un-

²⁹ New England and the Middle Atlantic states have denser populations, a greater proportion of their populations employed in manufacturing, and more manufacturing establishments per 1,000 population than other regions, but not any higher proportion of "urban" population. (See *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* [New York, 1962], pp. 255, 280-96, 693. The original data are from the Census). The East North Central states did not differ much from New England on any measure. Urbanization may be an excessively crude measure for our purposes, and there are too few regions to be able to determine a meaningful rank order.

An ecological study of a smaller unit—congressional districts—in four election years (1944 to 1950) found that the correlation between the percentage of laborers in a district and the percentage of the Democratic vote was greater in urban than in rural areas. (Duncan Macrae, Jr., "Occupations and the Congressional Vote, 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, XX [June, 1955], 333). The author suggests that there is a stronger spirit of community and of cohesion that cuts across class lines in rural areas and small towns. The regional data available to the present author are apparently too "coarse" to exhibit the same result.

dertaken. It seems probable, however, that they are not accidental, and that certain historical and structural features of these regions could be found to account for the differences. The consistently low level of class voting in the South is no surprise and easily explained. But why does the West North Central region exhibit almost the highest consistent pattern of class voting? These are the midwest agrarian states, which are largely Republican: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. Clearly this is not a "regionalism" like that of the South, because both strata are not pulled over to a single party. On the contrary, as Table 2 indicates, the Democratic vote of manual workers is usually above the average; that of non-manuals, usually below. For some of these states, the high level of class voting may reflect the historical patterns of agrarian revolts, expressed through the Nonpartisan League in North Dakota and the socialist traditions of Minnesota.³⁰ But, whatever the cause, class voting in this midwest region is usually as high as in the London metropolitan area of Great Britain or in urban Australia.

The vacillations of the mountain region (the strip along the Rocky Mountains from Montana to New Mexico) are not so easily laid to a particular historical tradition and may merely reflect the small numbers of cases (the fewest in any region) or the heterogeneity of the region. But, as will be noted in the case of the Prairie provinces in Canada, part of this vacillation may be due to the frontier character of the region. Further research might be able to pin down some of the reasons for this and other regional regularities of political behavior.³¹

Although national surveys offer no evidence that the South, at least, is becoming more like other regions in its level of class voting—and is therefore losing its special regional allegiance to the Demo-

³⁰ It must be noted that these data do not include farmers, but only manual and non-manual occupations.

³¹ The Mountain and West Central or North Central states not only have either high or vacillating levels of class voting, but also have had greater swings back and forth between the major parties than the other regions. See Harold F. Gosnell, *Grass Roots Politics* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), pp. 13-17.

cratic party—other studies indicate that such a change may be imminent. The Republican vote has steadily climbed in the South and may be derived from middle-class more than from working-class persons.³²

Also, to some extent southern political distinctiveness may be due to its character as a “backward” area and not to true differences in the allegiances of similar kinds of voters. Evidence to this effect is that urban Republicanism in the South has become quite similar to urban Republicanism elsewhere.³³ The higher Democratic percentages in the South may increasingly come from rural Democratic loyalties (which are Republican elsewhere) and which will be as hard to change as any rural traditionalisms.

The authors of *The American Voter* note that “generally speaking, [status] polarization is lower in the South than in other regions of the nation,” but their data show that “Between 1952 and 1956 . . . when levels [of status polarization] were declining elsewhere, there was an actual increase of polarization in the South, from a coefficient not much above zero to a point of clear significance in 1956.”³⁴ In a footnote, they suggest that “this trend may reflect growing industrialization and urbanization in the South, processes that are likely in the long run to blur traditional differences in political behavior generally.” This suggestion reflects a hypothesis which the present author shares: Class voting should increase if and when the influence of the traditional regional, ethnic, and religious loyalties to party dwindle.

Also, “status voting [was] more prevalent among *weak* party identifiers than among *strong* in the South in 1952,” with a smaller

³² A gradual equalization of the contribution of different regions to the vote of the major parties from 1896 to 1952 is shown in Paul T. David, “The Changing Party Pattern,” *Antioch Review*, XVI (Fall, 1956), 338–41.

³³ See Donald S. Strong, *Urban Republicanism in the South* (Birmingham: University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1960), for an ecological study of several southern cities. The author concluded that “Prosperous southerners are now showing the same political preferences as their economic counterparts outside the South. Here one may see the abandonment of ancient loyalties forged a century ago and their replacement by voting based on calculations of class advantage” (p. 57).

³⁴ Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, *op. cit.*, pp. 367–68.

but consistent such relationship in 1956.³⁵ This might indicate that persons who are breaking away from their Democratic identifications are predominantly middle-class and are the voters who are both least strongly identified with the Democrats and those whose shift to the Republicans accounts for the increasing class voting (or status polarization) in the South in 1952 and 1956 shown by *The American Voter* data.

Some evidence that the South may yet split along national lines when two parties develop there is given in recent unpublished studies by Herbert McClosky. He found that the Republicans in the South were even more conservative on a number of issues (and even more authoritarian) than the southern Democrats. The southern Republicans have therefore not been the natural home of liberals hoping to express their disagreement with the control of the Democratic party in the South by conservatives. The national two-party split between Left and Right is repeated in the South, the main difference being that *both* party elites are further to the Right than their northern counterparts. This indicates that changes tending to bring the South into two-party competition will not result in a liberal Republican party and a conservative Democratic party, but rather the same alignment as the rest of the nation.

In 1962, the congressional elections afforded further evidence of the dwindling importance of the traditional regional strongholds of both parties. The Republicans gained four more House seats in the South, won the governorship in Oklahoma for the first time in history, and nearly won a number of formerly safe Democratic seats. The Democrats in turn penetrated into hitherto safe Republican strongholds in New England, and Wisconsin possessed two Democratic senators for the first time.³⁶

Religion and Class Voting

The continuing diversity of American politics is also shown by

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 368. Italics in original.

³⁶ See the *New York Times*, November 8, 1962, for a summary of the election results.

religious differences in class voting. As before, the main questions here are: Has class voting dropped among either Protestants or Catholics, and what possible significance do shifts by either grouping have for a future trend in class voting?

Evidence from six surveys in five different presidential elections indicates that class voting may be declining slightly among Protes-

*Table 4. Democratic Preference, by Religion and Occupation Type,
United States, 1944-1960*

| OCCUPATION TYPE | PER CENT PREFERRING DEMOCRATS | | | INDEX OF RELIGIOUS VOTING |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| | CATHOLIC | PROTESTANT | TOTAL | |
| <i>1944</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 78 (245)* | 60 (530) | 66 (1104) | +18 |
| Non-Manual | 59 (165) | 37 (537) | 46 (949) | +22 |
| Total | 70 (410) | 48 (1067) | | +22 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +19 | +23 | +20 | |
| <i>1948</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 58 (316) | 49 (674) | 52 (1032) | +9 |
| Non-Manual | 50 (215) | 24 (643) | 32 (936) | +26 |
| Total | 54 (531) | 37 (1317) | | +17 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +8 | +25 | +20 | |
| <i>1952, Sample No. 1</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 52 (540) | 44 (1598) | 47 (2224) | +8 |
| Non-Manual | 34 (347) | 25 (1168) | 30 (1681) | +9 |
| Total | 45 (887) | 36 (2766) | | +9 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +18 | +19 | +17 | |
| <i>1952, Sample No. 2</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 64 (196) | 52 (461) | 56 (697) | +12 |
| Non-Manual | 38 (101) | 23 (344) | 34 (502) | +10 |
| Total | 55 (297) | 42 (805) | | +13 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +26 | +24 | +22 | |

* Total number of respondents is in parentheses.

| OCCUPATION TYPE | PER CENT PREFERRING DEMOCRATS | | | INDEX OF RELIGIOUS VOTING |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| | CATHOLIC | PROTESTANT | TOTAL | |
| <i>1956</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 59 (118) | 49 (300) | 52 (422) | +10 |
| Non-Manual | 48 (67) | 29 (170) | 36 (256) | +19 |
| Total | 55 (185) | 41 (470) | | +14 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +11 | +20 | +16 | |
| <i>1960, Sample No. 1</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 79 (214) | 51 (444) | 60 (711) | +28 |
| Non-Manual | 73 (233) | 32 (600) | 46 (936) | +41 |
| Total | 76 (447) | 40 (1044) | | +36 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +6 | +19 | +14 | |
| <i>1960, Sample No. 2</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 85 (385) | 47 (869) | 60 (1356) | +38 |
| Non-Manual | 75 (282) | 29 (741) | 45 (1128) | +46 |
| Total | 81 (667) | 38 (1610) | | +43 |
| <i>Index of Class Voting</i> | +10 | +18 | +15 | |

Sources: 1944: AIPO Survey Nos. 323, 423; 1952: Sample No. 1, Past vote, asked in the "Stouffer Study" in 1954, Sample No. 2, recomputed from the Michigan study of the 1952 election, reported in A. Campbell, G. Gurin, and W. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954); 1956: AIPO Survey No. 573; 1960: AIPO Survey No. 636K and Roper Survey No. 78 (Sample Nos. 1 and 2). Discrepancies of totals are due to inclusion of Jews and persons in other religions or with no religion in the totals. The designation "index of religious voting" assumes that the percentage-point difference between the voting preferences of Protestants and Catholics, holding social class constant, reflects the degree to which religious affiliation affects political behavior. The Michigan voting studies found a level of religious voting (as measured by this indicator) of 14 in 1956 and 44 in 1960, identical or very close to the Gallup figures. See Philip E. Converse, "Religion and Politics: The 1960 Elections" (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, dittoed, August, 1961).

tants, but that non-class factors affect the voting behavior of Catholics so much that no clear trend exists. Table 4 and Figure 3 show the vacillations of class voting among Catholics and an apparent slight decline among Protestants.³⁷

The decline found among Protestants is not sharp, and the margin for error is such that we must conclude that for Protestants as well as for the total electorate in the United States, there is no evidence of any change in class voting. As a matter of fact, the level of Protestant class voting is more consistent than the Catholic and implies that much of the vacillation of class voting, possibly even in earlier years, has been due to the greater shifting of Catholics than Protestants.

Protestants have exhibited a higher level of class voting than Catholics in each election except in 1952. The general pattern is consistent with the presumed ethnic and minority sentiments among Catholics which override class sentiments as bases for political loyalties. If only the 1944, 1948, and 1952 data were available, it would appear that Protestants and Catholics were becoming just alike in their levels of class voting, since a pattern of convergence culminated in actually higher class voting among Catholics than among Protestants in 1952.³⁸ This change was due to a rise of Catholic class voting—not to a drop of Protestant class voting. More specifically, it was due to a pull of the Catholic middle class to the Republican nominee.

The 1952 election was the only one in which the religious deviation of both manual and non-manual Catholics was about equal. In all of the other surveys, Catholic non-manuals were much farther from Protestant non-manuals than Catholic manuals were from

³⁷ Here, as with the data on regionalism, the lack of more than one survey for each election makes the evidence on trends rather speculative. Since the more complete evidence from fifteen surveys shows no consistent decline of class-voting over-all, and the Protestant trend parallels the slight decline over-all found in these selected surveys—except for the 1960 estimate—it is possible that the Protestant decline of class voting is merely a function of the slight over-all decline found in these particular surveys.

³⁸ This is shown by both of the two surveys available which asked about the 1952 vote of respondents.

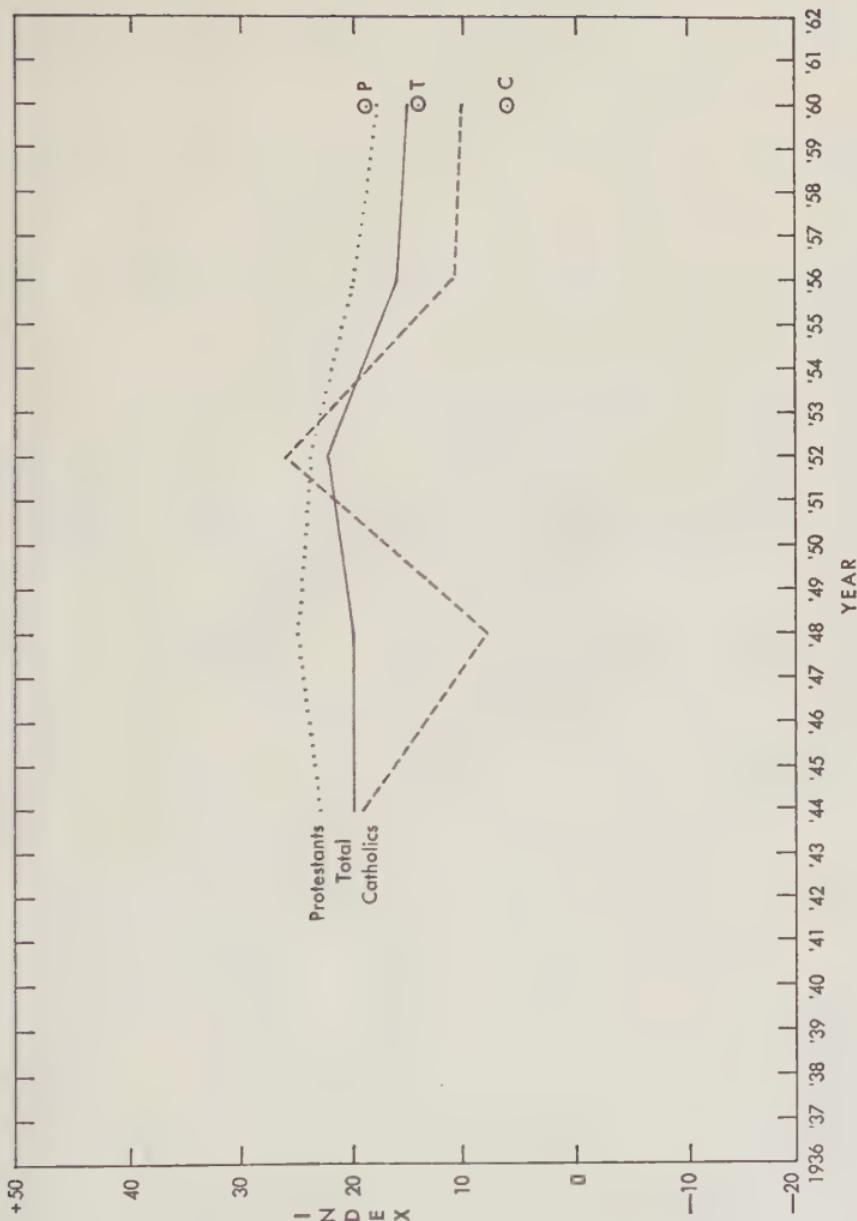


Figure 3. Class Voting among Catholics and Protestants, United States, 1944-1960

Protestant manuals. Catholicism seems in the United States to have more political consequences for persons in non-manual occupations than for manual workers. Because non-manual occupations are less identified as a particular social class (they are less homogeneous than working-class occupations), non-class loyalties and identifications affect the political behavior of persons in non-manual occupations more easily. But in 1952, this possible process affecting religious voting failed to operate. Non-manual persons in different religions were, for the only time, more alike than manual persons in different religions. In 1956 and 1960, they returned to the usual

Table 5. Democratic Preference, by Religion, Occupation Type, and Subjective Class Identification, United States, 1952

| OCCUPATION TYPE | SUBJECTIVE CLASS IDENTIFICATION | | | INDEX OF SUBJECTIVE CLASS VOTING |
|--|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------------------------------|
| | WORKING | MIDDLE | TOTAL | |
| <i>Protestants</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 54 (314)* | 39 (88) | 52 (422) | +15 |
| Non-Manual | 45 (126) | 23 (185) | 29 (330) | +22 |
| Total | 52 (440) | 25 (273) | | +27 |
| <i>Index of Objective Class Voting</i> | +9 | +16 | +23 | |
| <i>Catholics</i> | | | | |
| Manual | 68 (144) | 47 (34) | 65 (184) | +21 |
| Non-Manual | 52 (46) | 22 (50) | 38 (98) | +30 |
| Total | 64 (190) | 32 (84) | | +32 |
| <i>Index of Objective Class Voting</i> | +16 | +25 | +27 | |

Source: Michigan 1952 Survey. Persons declaring that there were no classes in the United States are not included in the totals. Further analysis of the same survey which considers the effect of class identification upon political behavior appears in Heinz Eulau, *Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962). Eulau uses a different index of class, so that his results are not precisely comparable.

* Total number of respondents is in parentheses.

pattern. This 1952 deviation may have been due to the "strong foreign policy appeal to the ethnic groups, especially the Catholics and Germans."³⁹ The 1952 data indicate that such an appeal, if it was the cause of this Republican shift among the middle-class Catholics, did not affect Catholic workers, who were tied to the Democrats by both class and religious loyalties; thus class voting among Catholics increased to a point above that of the Protestants for the only time in sixteen years.

Whether class is defined objectively or subjectively, class voting was higher in 1952 among Catholics than among Protestants, as Table 5 shows. Although the Democratic vote within similar strata, defined *both* by subjective and objective class, was higher for Catholics than for Protestants (except among non-manual middle-class identifiers, among whom the Democratic vote was uniformly low), both objective or subjective class made more difference for the politics of the Catholics than of the Protestants. Holding occupation constant, the association of subjective class identification with voting was higher among Catholics than among Protestants. Holding subjective class identification constant, the association of occupation and voting was higher among Catholics than among Protestants. This is additional evidence that the lack of difference between Catholics and Protestants in 1952 was not spurious, and that class overrode the religious factor more in that year than in others before or since.⁴⁰

In 1960, class voting among Catholics did not change appreciably from the 1956 level, but the association of religion and voting

³⁹ Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁴⁰ However, Oscar Glantz found sharp differences between Protestants and Catholics in a Philadelphia study shortly after the 1952 election, even when subjective social class and social status were controlled. Differences in political preferences were considerably less among persons in the two religions sharing a pro-business or pro-labor ideology, and, among persons with both high-status and a pro-business orientation, the religious difference in political preferences disappeared. This finding parallels that in Table 5, showing that middle-class Catholics (both objectively and subjectively) were no more Democratic than middle-class Protestants. These data were recomputed from Oscar Glantz, "Protestant and Catholic Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXIII (Spring, 1959), 73-82.

went up sharply, undoubtedly because of the candidacy of a Catholic for President. Whether this swing was enough to offset anti-Catholic shifts is a moot point.⁴¹ Even manual Protestants did not give the Democratic candidate a majority. Whether the victory of a Catholic candidate will finally end Catholic minority consciousness is an open question. American political scientist Peter H. Odegard suggests that "minority" consciousness may be the chief cause of the Catholic deviation:

As consciousness of "minority" status declines for any religious group, one may assume that other factors than religion will play a larger and larger role in determining voting behavior. That is to say, as intensity of religious identity or distinction declines, economic and social status may be expected to increase in importance in explaining voting behavior. As this occurs among American Catholics and Jews, their party preferences will be less and less influenced by religion and more by other factors. They should then become indistinguishable from the preferences of others of the same or similar economic and social status, regardless of religious affiliation.⁴²

Although certainly this argument is plausible and should hold for the regional as well as the religious deviations from class voting in the United States, no evidence of a consistent increase of class voting or a decline of the religious deviation is as yet manifest. It might be noted that only among non-manual persons identifying themselves as middle-class did the religious difference in voting behavior disappear, as is indicated by Table 5. Not only objectively

⁴¹ See Philip E. Converse, "Religion and Politics: The 1960 Elections" (Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, August, 1961), and P. E. Converse, A. Campbell, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," *American Political Science Review*, LV (June, 1961), 269-80. These authors conclude from their careful analysis of a 1960 national survey that Kennedy suffered a net loss of slightly more than 2 per cent of the national vote, with a 4 per cent gain from Catholics and a 6 per cent loss from Protestants (p. 278).

⁴² Peter H. Odegard, "Catholicism and Elections in the United States," in P. H. Odegard, ed., *Religion and Politics* (Published for the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University, by Oceana Publications, Inc., 1960), pp. 120-21.

higher status but a subjective sense of being part of the "great middle class" is required to rid Catholics of their sense of minority consciousness and, as a consequence, of their Democratic loyalties.

Obviously much more could be said about various political cleavages in the American electorate, but this chapter has focused on whether any consistent pattern of decline or increase of class voting was evident in general, within various regions, or within the two major religious divisions.⁴³

Conclusion

No evidence of either a decline of class voting or any substantial change in the pattern of class voting among major United States religions or religious groups has been found. The diversity of American politics, remarked on by most political observers, remains as great as ever. Some signs of regional economic and political integration have been cited which may mean the pulling of the South into line with other parts of the country, but the outcome is not yet visible in any increase of class voting in that region. The 1960 election marked the greatest difference of Protestant and Catholic voting behavior since 1944, even when similar occupational groups were compared; therefore there is no sign yet of any decline of this source of non-class voting.

But despite this continuing diversity, data from a number of surveys from 1936 to 1960 have shown no unmistakable decline of class voting in the United States since 1936, despite the move to the Right in the Eisenhower period. As S. M. Lipset has said, "such factors as occupational status, income and the class character of the district in which people live probably distinguish the support of the two major parties more clearly now than at any other period in

⁴³ It should be emphasized, however, that there is more variation politically within Protestantism than between Protestants in general and Catholics. See Wesley and Beverly Allin Smith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitude: A Study of Eight Major U. S. Religious Groups," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII (Fall, 1948), 377-89.

American history since the Civil War."⁴⁴ The data [presented here] reinforce the conclusion that there has not yet been, in V. O. Key's phrase, a "secular realignment" of the class bases of the political parties in the United States.⁴⁵

Another incidental conclusion of the attempt to investigate changes of patterns of voting over time is that as wide a time-span as possible must be taken into account when attempting to assess not only political change but also the particular political behavior of a social group. The exceptional behavior of middle-class Catholics in 1952 is a case in point. If the only evidence for their political behavior were taken from that election, many false generalizations concerning the decline of religious deviations could be erected. Especially when the political realignment of entire social groups (rather than of individuals) is the research focus, as many surveys as possible over a broad range of time are necessary.

The lack of any consistent decline of class voting since 1936 does not necessarily mean that class loyalties and consciousness have remained strong. Workers might continue to vote Democratic and businessmen, Republican, but the sense of identification of this behavior with class interests might be becoming obscure and weak. Such a change could occur within both parties and social classes: the parties themselves could be moving ever closer together in their platforms and appeals, and/or occupational groups could be moving closer together in their values, styles of life, and political perspectives. An important line of research is implied by these possible changes: to determine what changes of political values and attitudes can take place *without* any substantial shift in the actual political alignment of a social group. The data on class voting give no direct clue to these changes, but they do give pause to the easy conclusion that the Eisenhower swing and postwar prosperity of the United States greatly modified the class differential in voting behavior.

⁴⁴ Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁴⁵ Key, "Secular Realignment and the Party System," *Journal of Politics*, XXI (May, 1959), 198-210.

Suggestions for Further Reading

GABRIEL A. ALMOND and SIDNEY VERBA, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965). An excellent comparative study of the political culture of democracy in five nations: Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Mexico.

ANGUS CAMPBELL, PHILIP CONVERSE, WARREN MILLER, and DONALD STOKES, *The American Voter* (New York: Wiley, 1960). This study deals with some of the determinants of voting behavior in the United States.

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET, *Political Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1960). A good study of the relationship between stratification and politics, showing the correlation between "modernization" and stable democratization.

LESTER W. MILBRATH, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965). Milbrath presents a useful inventory of propositions concerning political participation. The propositions are arrived at from examination of previously published literature and data from the 1956 Presidential election study conducted by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.

*Men Who Manage**

MELVILLE DALTON

The great German scholar Max Weber was the first sociologist to attempt a systematic theory of bureaucratic organization.¹ Weber noted several characteristics of the fully developed bureaucracy, among them: division of work and authority into a hierarchy of distinct "offices"; appointment of officials according to technical qualifications; remuneration through fixed salaries and pension arrangements; promotion according to seniority or achievement, or both; and separation of an official's organizational duties and privileges from his interests as a private person. Weber's theoretical approach was essentially formal in its emphasis on the structure and rules of bureaucracy, and the influence of his formal categories is evident in studies of bureaucratic organizations and behavior undertaken since his time.² Yet, as Melville Dalton points out in his *Men Who Manage*, to understand the workings of a bureaucratic

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¹ H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946); Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

² See, for example, Chester Bernard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938); Peter Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York: Day, 1946); James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organization* (New York: Wiley, 1958).

organization, it is necessary to examine the organization's informal structure as well—to study the unplanned interaction of individuals and groups within the planned bureaucratic arrangement. In Men Who Manage, Dalton deals at some length with formal expectations and rule-oriented behavior, but he is mainly interested in "process"—behavior as it actually occurs within the preordained structure. His focus is on "power struggles" as they affect staff-line relations, managerial careers, and many other aspects of organizational life.

The findings reported in Men Who Manage are based on Dalton's many years of participant-observer research in several business firms. The scene of the study is four firms (three factories and a department store) ranging from 400 to 20,000 in number of employees. The company described in most detail is the "Milo Fractionating Center," a manufacturing plant with 8,000 employees, over 200 of whom comprised the executive force. Dalton was employed at Milo when he conceived the idea of studying the firm, and he collected data both during and after his employment there. The portion of his study presented here is concerned with the process of entry into and advance through Milo's organizational hierarchy. In gathering data at Milo and the other firms, Dalton sought the aid of experienced, reliable, and representative "intimates" who were to be aware only of Dalton's general research interest. The greatest number of these were located at Milo, where Dalton had 85 such informants: 11 workmen, 24 first-line foremen, 14 general foremen, 6 line superintendents, 8 staff heads or assistants, 18 staff supervisors or specialists, and 4 secretaries.

Dalton notes the following steps for collecting information: "first, to interview formally several high officers with whom I was not intimate, with Milo presumably only one of several local firms to which the best informed managers would be asked the same question: 'What are the things that enable men to rise here in the plant?' Next, I explored official statements in the supervisory manuals and handbooks. Only then did I turn to intimates for unofficial

statements and seek to check accumulated data against those in the company files which a group of intimates were working to open for my study."³ Dalton also kept work diaries, in which he recorded events, biographical information, gossip, and unusual practices or "critical incidents" occurring in the plant. And much information he, of course, gathered through informal observation as a Milo employee.

As with all data-gathering techniques, participant observation has both strengths and weaknesses. Certainly, it provides for breadth and depth of detail; indeed, many latent or obscure patterns of behavior could well go unnoticed except for the observer's participation. Moreover, since the observer is present during much of the interaction under study, he is in a position to grasp the processes and patterns of a behavior as a whole. On the negative side, the presence of the participant-observer may bring about changes in the action he wishes to study, and that he is playing a role in the behavioral situation poses the hazard of limiting or distorting the perspective of his observations. Dalton of course recognizes these pitfalls; he argues persuasively that they are more than balanced by the strengths of his methodology.

The Managerial Career Ladder

Career Studies

Like other aspects of executive behavior, the subject of careers in management is discussed with voluminous disagreement. Students of various backgrounds and interests have (1) made questionnaire surveys of high-level executives; (2) explored biographical dictionaries as far back as the 1870's in search of data to reveal career patterns; (3) recorded the anonymous remarks of executives called to research conferences for group discussion of their world

³ Melville Dalton, "Preconceptions and Methods in *Men Who Manage*," in Phillips E. Hammond, ed., *Sociologists At Work* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), p. 70.

and its activities, with psychologists and psychiatrists present to put questions and to assess exchanges made around the circle; (4) built on other studies and brought them up-to-date in the search for backgrounds as career-shaping forces.¹ These reports variously suggest that industrial leaders are more likely to spring from some social groups than others; that opportunity for certain types of individuals to achieve success in business and industry is greater or less at one time than another; that individual success in some respects means probable losses in others; that formal or informal selection of executives is more effective; that one kind of executive training is superior to another; that selection and promotion should be from within or from without; that leaders should or should not be "bureaucratic-minded," etc.

Most of the studies have focused on the origins and traits of individuals as related to their social and occupational rank at the time of study. The correlation among these variables is often made a conclusion. This slights the functioning of executives in their various positions, their struggles for success, their gains and losses from moving in and out of cliques and other informal groups, their explanations and feelings about success, and the attendant complications of their progression through formal offices. Treated as the controlled digestion of information fitted to specific job categories, their formal education is overstressed, while the meaning of what is often simultaneously acquired—an unwitting but pertinent education in social skills—is not recognized. The search for quantitative bulwarks often leads students to treat their admittedly indispensable factual data as terminal answers, rather than as starting points for questions.

The Focus on Milo

It is easy to attack and hard to conclude, but in this chapter the stress will be on some of the "related factors" and "attendant complications." This will limit the report to Milo and comments on the findings of others, for Fruhling files were closed and those

at Attica were undeveloped and inadequate for study of training,* and steps in careers. Our aim is to look at factors affecting the success of Milo officers in winning high place. Who was recruited and advanced? What were the bases on which people were chosen for preferment? What did "ability" mean, and how weighty was it in success as over against seniority, etc.? How did people go about climbing in the ranks? . . . As a participant observer, with all the implied evils of self-deception, I of course asked questions on the basis of what I thought I already knew. But logical procedure demanded the corrective of checking my warped vision against other sources of information before returning for systematic soundings of several dozen intimates among the managers. The official sources of information also serve as a background for presenting the other data. In order, therefore, the research steps were to (1) formally interview several high officers with whom I was not intimate, (2) explore official statements in various supervisory

* "Misleading" would be a more correct term. As the Attica Central Office extended its rational controls, it requested copies of the personnel records of department heads and other high officers. These records were to go in the Office payroll files so that the local managers could be paid directly from the Office. Reynolds and the others of the pioneer group believed that "it would not look good" for their favored group to have a background of, say, ten years as a laborer, eighth grade schooling, and a commonplace title throughout the period. So with the understanding and cooperation of the plant chief, they "doctored" the personnel records of the fifty-eight men who would be known in the Office chiefly by these documents. This was, of course, meeting rationalization with rationalization. Those who had a labor record were given a respectable clerical title for that period. All members were reported as having at least a high school education, and one or two years of college was preferable and commonly reported, though many of them apparently had no high school training at all. Some of the drab current titles, such as "department foreman," were changed to "Master Mechanic," "Director of," "Administrative Head," "Plant Accountant," "Works Paymaster." The extent to which these records had been altered could not be determined.

These practices were of course not confined to Attica, nor are they unique to business and industry. For some comment on background enlargements by individual job-hunting executives, see Perrin Stryker, et al., *A Guide to Modern Management Methods*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1954, p. 259.

manuals and handbooks, (3) get unofficial statements from intimates by systematically posing the same questions to all, and finally to (4) check these accumulated data against those found in plant files which a group of intimates were working to open for my study.

FORMAL INTERVIEWS

The answers of one high line and one high staff officer to a question indicate the typical official statements that were made on qualities essential for success. The comments of these men, both Roman Catholics, on the topics of religion and secret societies were not provoked by me. Although ages and years of service, etc., will be presented later for all the managers, some of these items are usually given with each person's comments for whatever additional relevance such information may have for more specialized students. The question asked was, "What are the things that enable men to rise here in the plant?"

L. Bierner, an inactive divisional superintendent suffering from heart trouble, aged fifty-seven, and employed by Milo for thirty-eight years, answered:

Integrity, loyalty, and honesty! Nobody can keep an honest man down! If you deliver the goods, you'll be pushed. If you help your superiors they'll help you—they'd be fools not to! I've heard a lot of stuff in the plant about Catholics and Masons and how you have to be one or the other. There's nothing to that! It's just in men's heads and has no basis in fact! If you're loyal, your boss doesn't give a damn what your religion is—he'll probably be glad you've got some and that's all. Men come in and raise hell because somebody got to be a foreman and they didn't. They bring up all this stuff about being a Mason or a Catholic or something else. There's nothing to it! The men who say this sort of thing are merely trying to find excuses for their failing—because they don't have anything on the ball. All you've got to do is to show people you're a right guy. All you've got to do is get on the ball and hit it, and nobody will raise any questions as to what your religion is or what you belong to. Any unbiased objective person can see this. The guy who's always making charges of this kind has nobody to blame but himself—he won't take the necessary steps to improve himself. When men com-

plain about not being foremen, I tell them the truth. I tell them so they can improve themselves or go somewhere else, but I never want to ruin or discourage them. I've often turned men down who later improved themselves and were given foremen jobs. There's no substitute for honesty and fair-dealing among men in industry.

You talk about people getting up in industry. Do you know that seventy-five per cent of supervisors don't want to advance if it means more work and responsibility? They want money but not what goes with it!

The staff officer, T. Cowper, was forty and had been with Milo nine years. His formula was simple.

I think there are three important things necessary to success in industry: First, ability. There's nothing that can replace ability. Second, freshness and flexibility of viewpoint. A manager must be able to meet changing situations. If he can't do this he won't be a successful supervisor or manager. Finally, a man must have willingness to work. It takes no end of hard work to be a manager. You've probably heard talk here in the plant about the company requiring you to be a Mason or a K. of C. to be a member of management. That's a lot of bunk. Nobody ever told me that I have to belong to anything. Sometimes management names certain people to be members of the Chamber of Commerce. But that's not forcing them into anything. Membership in that is not a social affair but a business relationship. It's part of the job. It's just helping to look after the company's interests. There's a lot of people in management who are Masons, and who belong to the Country Club, but they aren't required by management to join. We had a man who was chairman of the Ration Board and quite a number of the boys were on draft boards during the War, but nobody required them to be. People in management can belong to anything they wish. I'd say the organization is fairly democratic. It was once said that the Masons were prominent. Now the Masons don't show their rings and buttons as they used to.

Where Bierner stresses character attributes and implies the need of an unspecified kind of ability, Cowper is saying that dynamic plant conditions demand originality, flexibility, and hard work. They both say in effect that the essential qualities are ob-

scured by the excuses and lamentations of those lacking the qualities.

SUPERVISORY MANUALS AND HANDBOOKS

These were little more instructive than Bierner and Cowper. They spoke of "ability," "honesty," "cooperation," and "industry" as qualities important for advancement. "Merit-rating" plans were referred to as a means for appraising fitness, but no sample plans or enumeration of important characteristics were cited in these booklets. Nor were leads given concerning the steps for the managers to follow in getting a rating, etc. The term "ability" was not defined anywhere in the manuals or interviews. Still it was obvious that, though unarticulated, many of the managers could agree on what they meant by the term. They used the term to mean capacity (1) to maintain high production, but low operating costs and a low rate of grievances (without illegal strikes) and of accidents; (2) to make "good contributions" toward the solution of critical issues, (3) to preserve "good relations" in the department and between departments, and (4) to subordinate personal to organizational aims. Some of these tacitly acknowledged factors could have been measured roughly, but no record of such indexes in relation to a promotional scheme existed. Some of the staff groups did, however, make periodic though conflicting appraisals of their members with possible promotions in mind.

UNOFFICIAL STATEMENTS

Most intimates, from the work level to near the divisional level, strongly denied that promotions were subject to any formal system, or that such a plan would be followed if it did exist. The following ten partial statements are selected as representing those who in theory would be most eager for promotion—skilled workers, first-line foremen, and staff personnel. Their responses are to the same question asked of Bierner and Cowper.

J. Bennett, a skilled worker of forty-seven with thirty-one years in the plant, gave this explanation:

Promotion comes about by being a Mason. Twenty-five years ago Henry Blair brought in the Masons when he was made division boss. Now ability or nothing counts so much as being a Mason. Look at Hall and Diller—[his foreman and general foreman] they're both Masons, but Rolland [another foreman of Diller's] ain't, and he's got a college education. And that's why he don't have Diller's job. Rolland knows more about mechanics than anybody in the shop. You need to get wise. Look around. Hell, all the bosses are Masons. You can get by with murder if you're a Mason. Take Diller. He'll "yes" a man to shut him up, but if it goes higher, he'll "yes" whoever's above him. Hell, you don't have to be a Mason just to get a promotion, you have to be a Mason to keep your job.

The first-line foreman, Hall, to whom Bennett referred, was content to remain where he was in the ranks. At fifty-three, Hall had eight years of schooling and had been with the company thirteen years. He had been a machinist four years before being promoted. His answer:

By hard work. I got where I am by hard work. I always done what I was told and was willing to do more. I never asked for any favors, but was willing to help others.

With the corporation for twenty-two years, Sam Perry had been a first-line foreman for nine years. He was forty-five and had attended school eight years. His comment:

Well, I think a lot of things help a man get ahead. I think a lot of the old-timers around here got in by having friends. Some of them got up by ability. But it beats hell out of me how some of them got their jobs and how they keep them. I got my own job by helping people and doing things I wasn't expected to do. When Taylor was assistant superintendent over here I always helped him out every time I saw a chance. He asked me one time how I'd like to come up and see them install officers in the Masons. I knew damn well that was an invitation and that I couldn't lose. I went up and applied to get in. When he got to be soop, [superintendent] he asked me to take a foreman's job. Well, here I am. I wouldn't want to get any higher though—you catch too much hell. I

always dread vacations. I have to take Hampton's [general foreman] place for a week every year. The least little thing you do you'll find you've stuck somebody's neck out. When I used to just work in here I couldn't hardly wait for vacations, but now I hate 'em.

H. Trimble, a sixty-three-year-old first-line foreman with eight years of schooling and thirty-seven years' service with the corporation, answered:

Mostly their own ambition. If they do their work well and anything else that comes along, they'll do all right. A man has to do more than what's expected. First you'll be trusted with a few small jobs to see how you handle them. If you do well—you're on the way up.

I used to be ambitious when I was a young fellow, but I never knewed how to keep my damn big mouth shut. I'd just as soon tell my bosses to go to hell as to look at them. If I'd used my head I could have been someplace. Two different times, after I got to be a foreman, my bosses got big jobs in some of the other plants and wrote to me asking me to come and be a superintendent for them. I had five kids in school and owned my home and just didn't want to tear up and move to a strange place. Besides, back in 1929 when I got the first offer, I was making pretty good money then—about \$360 a month. I thought I had the world by the tail and a down-hill haul. When the depression come I lost all my savings and wished I'd taken the job. It pays to have friends but it's my own fault it didn't pay me.

J. Evans, aged fifty-three, was an outspoken foreman who had been with Milo for thirty years. A high school graduate, he boasted that he had "read more" than his college trained children. He laughed at my question:

I'm surprised that anybody who's been around here as long as you have would ask that question. You know as well as I do that getting in and running around with certain crowds is the way to get up. Nearly all the big boys are in the Yacht Club, and damn near all of 'em are Masons. You can't get a good job without being a Mason [Evans was a Mason]. Hell, these guys all play poker together. Their wives run around together, and they all have their families out to the Yacht Club hob-nobbing together. That's no mystery. Everybody knows it. It's the friendships

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and connections you make running around in these crowds that makes or breaks you in the plant.

Look at Rupert [the assistant superintendent]. He's the misfit suck-ass in his department. By his toadying in the Yacht Club—making boats, repairing them, making models, giving parties, and so on, he's been able to keep in their good graces. That's why he can fall down on job after job they've given him. He gets by with murder.

Rutherford [predecessor of Stevens] got up by family connections. His father owned a plant in the East. It finally became a part of our corporation. Rutherford was manager of a plant six years after getting out of college. Now by God that's not working your way up from the bottom. You're a college man, too, but by God you couldn't do that—you've got nobody pushing you. Take Geiger. I don't want to take any credit away from him. He's a damn good man. There's no doubt of it. But he was a good friend of Berelson [predecessor of Rutherford] who used to be the big shot. Berelson was thick with Rutherford. Geiger was Berelson's private chauffeur and took over the same job for Rutherford when Berelson retired and moved South. That's how Geiger got up.

There's no promotion system whatever. Seniority, knowledge, or ability don't count. You've got to be a suckass and a joiner. You've got to polish the old apple and have a lot of "personality." I was once asked to join the Masons, and it was hinted that there'd be a good job in it for me. I told them it was against my religion. They said, "Why Jim! You're not a Catholic. What do you mean, it's against your religion?" "I mean that if I can't have a job on my own ability I don't want it!" Well, I cut my legs off by talking like that. I didn't realize it at the time, but when I was passed up three times in favor of somebody else, I caught on, but I raised hell anyway. They told me I "wasn't a good salesman," that I wasn't "known—nobody knows you!" Since then there's been two more promoted past me. There's fifty men right here in the plant who could tell you a story just like mine. That's why over a dozen of us ignored the invitation to the big dinner and a medal for twenty-five years' service. Some of them went, but half of them didn't.

Bridges [president of the corporation] sent out a letter a couple of years ago to every member of supervision. In this he requested that any foreman or supervisor having a grievance should carry it up step by step through his superiors until he received satisfaction. If he's turned down at one level go to the next, and so on, even if it comes to Bridges himself.

That's a lot of bull! There's not a man in the plant that would do it. They're all afraid to go above whoever made the decision on it. They know damn well how they can be made to suffer without being able to prove that everything's not on the up-and-up. They'll all accept whatever decision is made about their beef and do nothing about it.

A night supervisor, aged sixty, J. Cunningham had two years of college and had been with the firm seventeen years. His views were similar to those of Evans:

Well, by God, it's not by ability! I can tell you that! It's who you know that counts, not what you know. Take Dick Pugh. He knows nothing about accounting but he has a man under him who's a trained accountant. Hell, that's not right. Anybody can see it's not. The accountant gets a little over \$400 a month while Dick pulls down better than \$600. Do you see any justice in that? Look here [showing a list of supervisors], there's one, two, three, four—nine men who are drawing the pay of foremen and carrying the title. Yet none of 'em have over five men under them. One man could easy boss the whole damn bunch. Why do you think they get away with it? Because they're Masons? Not by a long shot! That's part of it, but there's other reasons. Fisher's uncle is one of the directors. He thinks we don't know that, but that's how he gets by. Jones is a son-in-law of the assistant superintendent. Brown is always funkeying out at the Yacht Club. And the soop [Cunningham's superintendent] gets a hell of a kick out of dancing with Davis' good-looking wife. If she's going to dress well and keep on looking good, Bill's got to make his \$515 a month and feel like staying up nights—and a lot of these nights he spends home with the kids. His kids are damn nice. Two little girls. But Bill wants a boy, and Liz [the wife] says there'll be no more kids.

Look at my own job! On nights I'm responsible for the same thing that it takes Blaine, Taylor, Hampton, Vick, and Streeter to do on days. They average about \$850 a month while I get only \$575. Figure it out—five hundred seventy-five bucks compared with forty-two hundred and fifty. [Total monthly salaries of Blaine, Taylor, Hampton, Vick, and Streeter.] Now you tell me. How do you think men get up in industry? [All salaries mentioned have been increased considerably since the interviews.]

L. Wilkins, forty-eight, assistant staff head with twenty-two years' service, answered by comment on his own lack of success in the organization.

I've quit raising hell, but I don't let it get me down. I go ahead and do a good job because I know there are a lot of innocent people dependent on my doing a good job. They [his superiors] know I've got three kids and that I'm not as young as I used to be and that I probably couldn't get as much money starting anywhere else. I don't think [the Office] would tolerate the things going on here in the plant if they knew about them. There's some people around here that think they're little tin gods and they want to draw a group around them that'll treat 'em that way. And if you treat them that way you won't have any honesty or principles left. That's the part I can't take and that I've never been able to swallow. I've got to live with myself, and I regard my own self-respect more than I do dollars, when I've got enough to live on. Most of these fellows are boot-lickers with a set of principles made of rubber. If you study the matter closely you'll find that to succeed here in the plant you've got to be unfair—favor some and mistreat others. That's why Phillips [his former superior] left. He couldn't be unfair with people—it just wasn't in him. If you get ahead around here it won't be on ability but on agreeing with everything you're told whether you think it's fair or not—and keeping your thoughts to yourself. When election time comes around and you think the Democrats have a good man, keep it to yourself and pretend you're a Republican. Now I never do that. Sometimes I vote one way, sometimes another way—and I never hide who I think is a good man. [Wilkins was recently demoted to a low rank in a different staff and put on hourly pay. His associates say "the reason was, he talked too much."]

A college graduate, aged thirty-nine, E. Stein was a staff officer who had spent much time in the Central Office. His response was:

The company naturally talks of having a promotion system. But this thing of "ability" is damned hard to pin down. It's easier to get at when you've got something concrete to work on. For example, when you're down on the lower levels in industry—say a machinist or a time-study man—you can always be checked on your worth to the company. Your superiors can see that you're doing something. If you were suddenly

asked at the end of a month or a year just what you'd contributed to the company's cause you could point to some statistics. It's not that way when you get up higher. The higher you get, the more your advancement depends on impressions that your superiors have of you. And these impressions are based on almost no real evidence. If a high staff officer or a division superintendent were asked what he'd done for the company during the last year he'd have a hell of a time pulling up anything concrete. When you're in a position like that you know all the time that other people want your job and are trying to get it—and you know that impressions are constantly being formed of you. I know it goes on. I see my supervisors here. I find that people up in the front office have impressions of them. They're typed. And the whole damn thing is usually wrong and always unfair. Vaughn or McNair will see my supervisors for maybe twenty minutes once or twice a month and will form impressions of their merit on such evidence as that. Hell, you can't judge a man's capabilities from no more knowledge of him than that!* Yet these guys insist on getting first-hand impressions. They know damn well they don't have any foolproof means of rating men so they're conceited enough to think they can look at a man and size him up—find out how he stacks up alongside others and how much he's worth to the

* Based on wide experience in both large and small firms, T. K. Quinn supports Stein's observations. See *Giant Business: Threat to Democracy*, Exposition Press, New York, 1953, p. 139. Stein's observations on "ability" have been echoed elsewhere and from much higher vantage points than his. See Eli Ginzberg, ed., *What Makes an Executive?* Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, pp. 67-68, 71, 73-74 and 79, in which various top level executives (1) deny the existence in their firms of any "list of qualifications . . . for promotions," and admit that they promote on the basis of their liking the person and his success on the previous job; (2) confess they do not know what leadership qualities they are looking for and doubt the validity of much of the writing on leadership; (3) reject all formal promotion schemes and instead judge the merit of a man for promotion by "how loud an outfit screams when you want to take a man away," a device recommended by the late sociologist, Louis Wirth, for discovering the operations and effectiveness of an institution. The existence of an abstract, transferrable ability is scouted by some. See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956, pp. 140-141.

Stein's concern for "some statistics" supports W. H. Whyte, Jr.'s (*The Organization Man*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1956, p. 167) observation on the search for "some index of achievement that no one can dispute."

company. And their impressions just boil down to whether they like a man or don't like him. When you walk into a room with them you can see that they're intent on getting every impression of you that they can. You've got to always be on guard about your dress, speech, manners, and general conduct. All that has nothing to do with brains or ability. Look at Edison, or Lincoln, or Henry Ford—they were too busy doing things to be fussy about how they looked. Yet even if I'm an hour late of a morning, I'll shave. Some people will skip their shave if they were up late the night before. But it doesn't pay. I first noticed this when I was in [the Office.] There, the higher you went the more you got involved in politics. Everybody was uneasy and trying to beat everybody else in making a favorable impression. [Stein was recently promoted to the top post in his staff.]

C. Gregg, a low-ranking staff supervisor, aged twenty-eight, had been with Milo for four years. He responded with rambling attacks on the "front," the "sham" and the "insincerity" of Milo managers as a group. He noted that ten years earlier, Milo had

. . . decided to do away with the hard-nosed boys of the old school. They want men that can pat you on the back and hand you a smooth line without meaning it. They want guys who can put on a front. Men here in the plant get their jobs by connections, not by ability.*

In most cases the heads get a good man under them and let him make the decisions. They bear down on the assistants because the assistants are afraid of their jobs and have to carry the major part of the responsibility for their decisions, as well as the few the head himself may make. Take [a reorganized and newly toolled department]. Word comes down that being more modern they shouldn't have to use as many men as before. That's a damn lie—it nearly always takes as many workers as before, but skip that. The point is that everybody gets the shivers. They're all afraid of their jobs, and rumor increases the fear. And ability plays only a small part in their getting or holding their jobs.

* Production workers, elsewhere, have observed that after meeting all formal qualifications, "pull" and "connections" were still needed to become a foreman or advance from that position. See Eli Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream*, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, N.Y., 1955, pp. 52-60.

Among line personnel, only Hall, Perry, and Trimble suggest that "work" and "ability" are factors in advancement. Evans admits that Geiger has ability but does not see this as the major factor in his success. Evans, Cunningham, and Wilkins clearly think ability is lost in the shuffle of personal relations and the requirement that candidates know the right people.

As staff men, both Stein and Gregg suspect ability is a minor item. But Stein more perceptively does not deny that ability is sought and considered so much as he laments the absence of techniques for uncovering it, and the association of inappropriate earmarks with it.

These contradictory statements mean little without the more objective evidence that comes from study of ages, job experience, years of service and time spent in each level, amount and kind of education, etc.

Occupational Data

If a firm selects and advances its supervisors on the basis of skills and experience that fit them for more important and difficult work, we can assume that some detectable relation exists between job rank and the factors we have just mentioned. Certainly we could expect some fairly clear age limits for people entering at the bottom and at each successive level if there were to be regular advances. For responsible administration of others we might also expect a minimum term of service as a measure of fitness before appointment to higher levels, not that age and experience guarantee wisdom. Then too, in a firm with great specialization and division of labor, such as Milo, we would expect a close tie between job and type of training. Let us see how the Milo data fit into some of these categories; for example, age at time of appointment, years of service at appointment, and education in terms of amount and subject matter. This last, as the assumed open-sesame to all rewards, deserves close attention.

AGE AT TIME OF APPOINTMENT

Table 1 includes current ages and all but one of the above items for the three line groups and the staff. The "superintendents" include all levels and categories—full, assistant, and assistant-to. . . . The first entry for each management group shows the age at appointment to that group expressed as the average, the median, and the range for all. The age range of 42 years for foremen, 33 for superintendents, and 30 for staff people shows only—excepting the one adolescent first-line foreman—that entrants must be adults, young or old.

Table 1. Occupational Data on Milo Managers

| MANAGERIAL | | DATA CATEGORIES | MEAN | MEDIAN | RANGE |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------|--------|-------|
| GROUP | | | | | |
| First-line foremen | Age at appointment | 36 | 37 | 16-58 | |
| | Years service at appointment | 12 | 11 | 0-38 | |
| | Years education | 11 | 11 | 6-20 | |
| | Current age | 48.5 | 48 | 31-65 | |
| General foremen | Age at appointment | 44.4 | 44.5 | 26-62 | |
| | Years service at appointment | 16.2 | 17 | 1-31 | |
| | Years education | 11.8 | 12 | 8-16 | |
| | Current age | 50 | 50 | 35-65 | |
| Superin- tendents | Age at appointment | 41.4 | 41.5 | 25-58 | |
| | Years service at appointment | 19.8 | 19 | 3-35 | |
| | Years education | 13.8 | 14 | 9-19 | |
| | Current age | 48.7 | 49 | 35-65 | |
| Staff group | Age at appointment | 36.6 | 33 | 24-54 | |
| | Years service at appointment | 13 | 10 | 3-35 | |
| | Years education | 15.2 | 16 | 9-19 | |
| | Current age | 42.9 | 41 | 29-61 | |

YEARS OF SERVICE AT APPOINTMENT

Here, too, we see that some members of all levels were with the corporation as little as three years before achieving their present rank. In the two lower line levels some members entered as super-

visors without previous experience in that role, at Milo or elsewhere. The narrowest range of service was 30 years for the general foremen. With their average of 16 years, this suggests no clear service prerequisite for entry. Six general foremen had less than 5 years' service, whereas 11 had 25 or more years as they came to the job.

The relation between years of service and entry for the staffs and superintendents defies classification. Sixteen superintendents starting as production workers required 8 to 30 years (M. 19.3, Md. 20.5) to make the grade. Six of the 16 bypassed the level of general foreman. The other 10 were caught as general foremen for 1 to 8 years. Nine superintendents came from staff organizations where they had been employed 3 to 35 years (Md. 14).* Six superintendents entered Milo as first-line foremen and spent 3 to 12 years there before taking superintendencies. The remaining 5 superintendents took the office after 14 to 33 years (Md. 21) in the line as clerks or secretaries.

The absence of regularity is clear. Seventeen superintendents served in some line supervisory role, but never as general foremen. Only 16 of the 36 superintendents started as workers and became first-line foremen, and 6 of these got double promotions in skipping the rank of general foreman. Five members became superintendents with no previous administrative experience. However, we must note for its later relevance that, apart from systematic promotion, these five, with their average of 21.8 years of handling confidential records and observing events, undoubtedly had immense knowledge of internal affairs, both economic and political, and used it.

In terms of their job histories, education, and ages, the staff force fell into two clusters. One group of 23 with an average of 16.5 years of schooling entered Milo as staff employees and rose to current positions in from 3 to 11 years (Md. 7), at which time they averaged 31 years of age. The other group of 13 entered the

* Dispersion of the data was so great in some cases that the mean values, having coefficients of variation in excess of 50 per cent, were deficient as measures of central tendency. See T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1941, p. 130.

line organization with 12.8 years of formal training. In various clerical and minor supervisory roles they remained there for 17 to 35 years (Md. 22), where apparently they were tolerated as near failures for various reasons. They were gradually moved over to less rigorous staff positions at 39 to 53 years (M. 48) of age.

Looking at the median years of service at time of appointment for the 190 line officers we may fancy we see a pattern of promotion: personnel became first-line foremen after 11 years, general foremen after 17, and superintendents after 19 years. But this is misleading. First, the obviously disproportionate numbers would bar most foremen from rising to the top. Ignoring this limitation, the foreman's case was still hopeless, for fewer superintendents were being drawn from the bottom and the rate of progression for foremen was falling sharply. We saw above that over half of the superintendents did not start at the bottom, and that six of those who did skipped a step. Study of current ages shows that foremen were moving up more slowly. For example current foremen had already held their positions 12.5 years,* which was 5.2 years longer than current general foremen had served as first-line foremen. Also the foreman's remaining years before retirement were little more than those of his superiors: he was only 1.5 years younger than the general foremen and only 0.2 years younger than the superintendents. If the first-line foremen had immediately become general foremen and held that office for only the time that the general foremen had served (M. 5.6 years), and had then become superintendents, they would have been 54.1 years old and would have been employed 30.1 years, as compared with the superintendents who served 19.8 years to reach that office, but after being there 7.3 years† were still less than three months older than the foremen.

Despite the weakness of this kind of statistical discussion, it is clear that movement through the hierarchy varied greatly and that age and years of experience were not important for appointment and promotion at Milo.

* Current mean age minus mean age at appointment.

† See preceding note.

EDUCATION

Years of schooling expressed as an *average* for each group was related to rank in management. Education included time of attendance in grade school, high school, college, trade schools, night schools, and years of study by correspondence. As seen in the table, each ascending level in the line had more education than the one below it.* These differences were not due to exaggerations of time spent in night school or correspondence study. For even when averages of only the grade, high-school, and college totals were considered, the difference persisted: first-line foremen, 10.5 years; general foremen, 11.2 years; superintendents, 13.1 years. And though only trifling, differences in the same direction persisted when night, trade, and correspondence schooling were totaled and averaged separately for each level: first-line foremen, 0.5 years; general foremen, 0.6 years; superintendents, 0.7 years. The tie between education (grade, high school, and college only) and rank was also found when the 36 superintendents were broken down into their formal levels: departmental chiefs, 12.5 years; divisional chiefs, 13.7 years; plant head and assistants, 15.3 years.

This bond between rank and schooling suggests several things. First, that those with the greatest amount of relevant subject matter and formal skill logically earned higher rank. However, this was not true at Milo. Only a minority of the managers were in positions associated with their college training. Lumping the 226 managers together, the formal duties of at least 62 per cent of them did not relate to their specialized education. Considered by rank, the percentages whose duties did not match their training were: first-line foremen, 61 per cent; general foremen, 81 per cent; superintendents, 61 per cent; staff, 50 per cent.

As examples of training among first-line foremen not directly applied, one man had two years of schooling in traffic; another, three years in physical education; a third, two years in advertising; a fourth, two years in journalism.

* Differences between educational means of the line strata, as well as between the latter and the staff group, were statistically significant at better than the one per cent level in all but one case, which barely missed that level.

Among general foremen, one had three years in chemistry; another, two years in pre-medicine; a third, trained in engineering, was in charge of a warehouse.

Among the superintendents, one trained in medicine; a second in law, and so on.

In the staffs, an M.A. in engineering was an auditor of non-engineering matters. Another, with the same degree and subject, was a cost accountant. The head of industrial relations had a degree in chemical engineering; his assistant, aeronautical engineering. These gaps were also common at Fruhling, and are probably widespread* for reasons discussed below. Thus the subject matter of education was not a magic key to success.

A second theory might be that amount of education was important as a test for elevation. Certainly this is often used as a rough screening device. Some executives see it as a measure of ambition, reliability, persistence, and character.† Volume of edu-

* The Wharton School of Finance reports a low relation between the training and later work of some of its alumni. Cited by W. H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1956, p. 88. See also W. Lloyd Warner and J. C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1955, p. 29, who note that only one-third of the business leaders in their sample had commercial training in college.

Comparing the vocations and inventions of inventors, David Cort points to a frequent gap between formal training and the products of creative output. See "World's Most Valuable Men," *The Nation*, December 8, 1956, pp. 497-500.

† Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. Strong criticisms of currently fashionable criteria for recognition of executives are offered by the English writer, Aubrey Silberston, in *Education and Training for Industrial Management*, Management Publications Limited, The Millbrook Press, Ltd., London, 1955. He holds (pp. 15-16) that "systematic selection methods, however carefully devised, are no substitute for long acquaintance with a person." He doubts (p. 6) the "universal validity" of any of our pet traits and categories, such as "high standards of integrity and loyalty, courage, imagination, initiative, acceptability to others, intelligence, pertinacity, and optimism in the face of adversity." He quotes an "experienced manager" who suggests that "the quality which matters most of all is resilience under adversity." He admits that (p. 12) "some technical understanding is required in nearly all managerial jobs," but ranks personal qualities as probably more important in most cases.

cation was not ignored at Milo, because some reference was almost invariably made to education when promotion was discussed. But specific merits of education were not stressed, and the fact that some men rose to high levels without college training² while others with it remained near the bottom speaks for itself.

Another common explanation points to family origin as the source of both education and aid to success, so that the father's occupation and background become the clue. Students disagree on this³ and the incomplete data on Milo managers gives little support to the view. Data on father's occupation were available for only 31 of the 72 superintendents and staff officers, and these show little that could be regarded as a definite pattern of impetus accounting for placement of the sons. For example, the fathers were: 4 small farmers, 2 grocers, 9 skilled workers, 2 school-teachers, 1 telegrapher, 1 police officer, 1 barber, 2 sales clerks, 1 insurance agent, 4 industrial foremen, 1 consulting engineer, 1 realtor, 1 streetcar motorman, and 1 locomotive engineer. The sons had a median education of 14 years, and 18 were on jobs not related to their training.

The most workable theory in the present case is that increased years of schooling at the college level are directly, but complexly, related to managerial skill in carrying on the endless round of unavoidable compromises. This is to say that the total experience of going to college may be more important for the executive than the technical courses he takes. In the last decade or so, executives themselves, with various educators and students,⁴ have questioned the adequacy of some subject matters and have proposed curricular changes, but they have given little if any attention to the career consequences of the student's campus life, drives, and competition as an *experience*. It is much too simple to say that candidates are selected because of their education. Doubtless they are to a degree, depending on how status-givers interpret education. But in view of the controversies over subject matter and the evidence that years of schooling relate to rank, there is merit in thinking that educated candidates select certain ranks. Education in this sense means the

student's total growth during his tenure on campus; the formal doses, yes, and the inseparable unintended acquisitions.

Before we can talk of the transfer of college experiences to executive tasks, we must compare the unofficial executive and student roles. . . . Here in a paragraph we must note salient features of the executive's environment. He deals with ambiguity. Though he has defined goals and understood ways of reaching them, he functions only as he fashions new routes that are always out-of-date. Yesterday's guide often fails him in today's contradictions. His indispensable ability is not to act out cut-and-dried precepts, but to carry on where there are no precepts. If he is to escape "ulcer gulch," survive as a leader, and protect himself without permanently alienating associates, he must precipitate but channelize crisis, and aptly compromise to preserve the uncompromisable.

The student's career on campus is trivial as compared with future rewards and responsibilities, but given certain common conditions, his experiences are an unwitting preparation for the executive role. Years of "education" have many implications for the type of student (*a*) who attends school with more vocational than intellectual purpose; (*b*) who wishes to participate widely on campus and yet craves good marks; and (*c*) who for these and other reasons is forced to budget his time. Such a student may have both vocational aims and intellectual fire, but the first is essential and seems typically dominant. He may have received a financial and psychological boost from his family, or his campus cronies may have awakened his career consciousness. Knowledge of employers' expectations may give him the "A-fever" if campus honors do not. Long before he completes high school, the student has learned that in our society he must participate or be a "grind" in danger of becoming "introverted" or "maladjusted" or even "anti-social." Social activities take time but may pay unexpected returns. These activities would of course include the efforts to enter and climb in fraternities, most recreation, and dating.

Taking a part in campus politics gives the student an experience he may not get outside of college, at his age, short of entering

professional politics. He tries his hand at helping select and elect officers, and may himself serve. His part in the intra- and inter-organizational struggles is educational. He learns to move in and out of cliques and organizations with minimum friction. He mixes with the mentally elect and competes with those who also have pangs of status- and career-hunger. Success as a campus "wheel" is instructive and good for his record.

If with all these activities, and the helpful obstacle of part-time work, he is still able to make good marks, he has learned how to function inside limitations. Probably he has become adept at analyzing his professors and utilizing his social contacts whether he is consciously calculating or not.* If his limited time demands more short cuts to maintain his grade points, he studies his professors to (*a*) isolate their pet theories; (*b*) outguess them in preparing for examinations; and (*c*) to please them. Although apple-polishing may not always pay off as expected, the exercise in grappling with the unknown still enlarges his executive potential. He compares notes and impressions with other students. This requires cooperative exchanges and sharpens skill in cracking cliques that have a corner on past examinations. Some of his circle of friends may be part-time library personnel and help him to monopolize hard-to-get books, and/or to keep them out overtime, as well as escape fines or have them reduced.†

However, competition for grades and contacts, the deadlines for delivery of term papers and reports, and the occasional baffling professor, may defeat all these maneuvers. This is good, too, for developing possible administrative talent. For in addition to the skill of easy cooperation with others, the student now has to gamble on his own and determine the unascertainable. He becomes

* Those who cringe at the activities of this alert student were obviously never campus "wheels" and will not be executives.

† Some of my successful intimates (in terms of their high marks in college and quick rise in industry) at Milo and Fruhling and acquaintances in other firms have boasted of these practices. Also see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 175, on executive performance in relation to overcoming obstacles in getting a degree.

sensitive to intangibles, and learns to live with the elusive and ambiguous. This unofficial training teaches him to get in his own claims and gracefully escape those of others that he must. He learns to appear sophisticated and to adjust quickly to endless new situations and personalities.

Despite what we have said against subject matter, some of the student's courses may contribute to his developing social skills. The first two years of college are usually designed to "broaden" and "give perspective." His travel through time and space on the wings of biology, history, anthropology, politics, sociology, philosophy, psychology, may bring him home with a new view of family and neighborhood precepts. He may lose some dogmas about what is worthwhile, what is good and bad, and about the virtue of fixed ways of doing things. Even if he doesn't change deeply, some desperate situation may provoke him to activate his inert knowledge of successful means used by dead heroes. At least he may avoid the error of thinking that "politics" and "rat races" are peculiar to our time or to a particular kind of organization. Thus subject matter of this kind may combine with the unofficial education acquired under various stresses to produce a type of person with hidden executive possibilities.* Such students receive much more "vocational education" than they bargain for or pay for.

This is not to say that all college graduates are executives in the rough. Obviously not all fit the type we have posed, which was based on rather narrow but close study of such people as Hardy, Springer, and Rees at Milo and others at Fruhling. For instance, a kindergarten teacher might fit our type, though there is a ques-

* Some top managers argue in favor of recruiting campus "big shots" as potential executives, while others say such persons are "spoiled" and can function happily only as "adulation" is heaped on them. This second group would focus on candidates who make high marks without concern for their popularity. But a third group, supported by some evidence at Milo, reports most satisfaction from hiring those students who were both big men on the campus and high scholastically. See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47. For executive impressions of formal knowledge versus judgment as factors in success, see The Editors of *Fortune*, *The Executive Life*, Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1956, pp. 213-214, 216-217.

tion about the force of her status aspirations, and never show the qualities we attribute to the successful executive because her role is very different from that of executives—however much she might protest to the contrary!

Whether experience in college gives the urges or merely stirs latent qualities born elsewhere, or whether earlier conditioning and college are necessary, at Milo the drive for personal* success as the major end of life was the goal of the college-bred oftener than the noncollege.

Evans, as we saw, was widely read and verbal but was not "college-processed," and was most critical of the behavior he saw as essential for success. Also noncollege, Trimble admitted the "error" of his earlier views. Perry, with eight years of schooling, frowns on what is needed for success. Gregg, a high school graduate, is of the same view, and Wilkins, with two years of high school, thinks the formula is to "be a bootlicker with a set of principles made of rubber."

On the other hand, Cowper, with a degree, emphasized the value of "flexibility" in success. In another connection he remarked, "I'm always willing to deviate in clearing up problems. By that I mean to ignore principle for the moment in order to follow it in the long run."

Haupt, a college graduate, usually successful in compromising on unessentials to preserve the sinew of policy, made a maxim in Milo by his repeated defense, "I always try to make two and two equal four. Sometimes I wind up with three-point-nine or four-point-one, but that's close enough."

Cunningham was an exception. With two years of college, he denounced the behavior associated with success.

* D. Starch, "An Analysis of the Careers of 150 Executives," *Psychological Bulletin*, 39:435 (1942); A. W. Kornhauser, in *Industrial Conflict*, First Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, The Cordon Company, 1939, XI, pp. 210-211; Warner and Abegglen, *op. cit.*, p. 132, show that, in their sample of around 8000 executives, college graduates required 20 years to reach their positions, as compared with an average of 31 years for those with little or no formal schooling.

The few cases of noncollege men who practiced and approved the compromises essential for success were atypical. Successful practices are of course contagious and can be variously imitated by some, but many of this group were barred by moral feelings from adopting the more rewarding conduct. Implicitly preaching the morality of fixity, they demanded simple and unvarying practices in their daily relations. . . . Their potential for accommodation, or ability to adjust to change, was low. Rank seems to relate directly with this potential. That is, success as an executive requires aptness in fitting means to ends inside the limitation of preserving the organization, which includes its indispensable personnel. The intruding moral issues are part of our problem of explaining how the managers rose in the structure, but we too must compromise and ignore them for the present.⁵

Thus age, work background and service, and formal education as training adapted to positions, all showed such variations at Milo that none of them could regularly be formal tests for recruitment and promotion.⁶ Scattered cases indicated the same was true for Fruhling's 940 managers.

Case materials are a threat to the researcher. His loving care to turn his matchless insights on every crumb of his findings easily trips him into platitudes. With this threat as a monitor, I should like to comment quickly on typical unofficial events attending (1) the choice of candidates for open positions, (2) demotions, (3) sinecures and competence for office, and (4) salary variations.

Careers in Process

VACANT POSITION AND PROMOTION

Inconsistencies about the official route upward naturally provoked fears, speculation, and search for unofficial routes. Vacancy of an office by the advancement, death, or transfer of its occupant was followed by a period of silence and suspense as to who the successor would be. Except in case of sudden death, there had usually been some planning for the vacancy, but this was often

vague even to those who counted themselves as likely candidates.

At Milo a small group of superiors, which included Hardy, conferred and prolonged the suspense by delays of one to three weeks in naming a successor. Importance of the office was naturally a factor. Sometimes it was allowed to die, but no notice would be given of this intent. Assuming the office would continue, the field was left open for speculation on the criteria* that would be used.

The behavior of both those with and without hope of being chosen showed conviction that personal factors would decide, and that the choice would have personal consequences for subordinates. During this period, subordinates who professed to have excellent grapevines would slight their duties to impress others with their knowledge of what candidates were most in favor. Wagers were made with odds given and taken on two or more possible candidates. At the same time there was debate as to who *should* have the office with expressed fear and hope as to the consequences. While supporters of a candidate pointed to his favorable qualities such as age, experience, education, personality, influence, and family conduct, others noted cases where these factors meant nothing. Some of those fearing a certain appointment, assured the group they would transfer or quit "rather than work under him."

Unexpected appointments or promotions brought excited analyses of the selection. In some cases personal competence as a factor was never mentioned, though theorizing about the matter might recur for months.

The assumption that all members of a firm perpetually crave to move upward, and that only the aggressive can rise, has noteworthy exceptions. The case above of Perry could have been multiplied several times, even up to the divisional level. The mere wish not to go higher in the ranks, as in Perry's case, did not prevent

* On occasion some of the high managers implied a certain essential behavior in aspirants. Brady, the Milo griever, told me that at the time of Taylor's failure to get an expected post, he (Brady) asked Blanke why. Blanke replied: "Nobody knows him. It wasn't because he lacked ability but because he didn't use the plant politics the way he should have." As we have seen, this was an ability Taylor lacked.

the person from rising. Though some individuals successfully declined invitations to take higher office, others were coerced into entering management, or into taking higher supervisory posts.

The case of Evans illustrates successful rejection of higher rewards and the variations of upward drive in one individual. Despite the fact that he denounced the conduct associated with success, and that he "raised hell" with his superiors when he "was passed up three times in favor of somebody else," he recently declined the assistant superintendency when it was offered to him. His explanation to me:

Goddamn the job! When I was younger and needed the money, I couldn't have it. Now that my kids are all grown and nearly through college the old lady [his wife] and me can get by without it. It would have been damn good ten years ago to have a little extra cash. But I'm fifty-three now and I don't have the expense I used to have. There's a lot more hell goes with the job than used to. I don't mean to be catching hell the last twelve years I'm here. Some guys'd sell their souls to be a superintendent, but not me.

Some workmen of great skill and technical grasp were encouraged by Milo managers to enter the ranks, and in some cases were forced to.

L. Jackson was one of these. As a practicing Fundamentalist from a farm community he possessed certain presumed virtues for ascendancy. His habitual hard work, reliability, and often stated belief that "man was meant to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," were not lost on H. Warren, general foreman of that area. Warren was convinced that "Jackson is a man you can trust when your back's turned." He asked him to accept a foremanship. Jackson declined. Warren offered uncommon privileges, including the right to select individual members for his work crew. Jackson still refused and explained that he was "not qualified to be a boss." Accustomed to bitter rivalries for foremanships, Warren was delighted and redoubled his efforts. Just before taking his vacation, Jackson again declined. Returning on Monday two weeks later, Jackson was approached by a work crew who asked for assignments. He responded with "Why ask me?" They quoted Warren as hav-

ing ordered them the preceding Friday to report Monday to their new boss, Jackson, and they referred him to the bulletin board for proof. Jackson tore the notice from the board and went to Warren's office where he also found Warren's chief, O'Brien. They both apologized for their action, and explained that they were "on the spot. Please help us. There's not another man we value as much as you. We've got to get the work out and nobody else but you can do it." Jackson accepted, but rejected the position in less than three months. Division chief Springer had complained to Warren over some production detail in his province. When Warren conferred with his foremen and found that one of Jackson's men was responsible for the difficulty, he spoke sharply to Jackson. Jackson quit his job and went home. Warren and O'Brien drove over to see him that night and explained that they meant nothing "by bawling you out. That's part of the job. We have to do that to make things look right upstairs. You know there was nothing personal meant. Won't you reconsider?" Jackson refused to return except to his old job as workman.

When Warren was later made top manager of one of the corporation's smaller units he again turned to Jackson, and this time asked him to come and head a department. Jackson declined. His case shows that Milo directors were concerned to reward some kinds of ability.

The division chief, Revere, took that office under protest. Starting at the bottom at age twenty-two, he climbed to department head in twenty-two years. After ten years there he was asked to take his present position. He declined and gave bad health and diminished family responsibilities as reasons. However, his reluctance was based less on these considerations than on status and income factors. After having been department head for four years, Revere had seen Hardy take over this very division at the age of twenty-nine. Informants said Revere wanted the job at that time and was bitter over Hardy's getting it. And Hardy's moving into his present post six years later did not soften Revere's feelings. As division head Hardy had received \$17,500 as compared to the \$12,500 received by Revere when he took over the office. Although

this was an increase for Revere of \$3700 over his salary of \$8800 as department head, it was still \$5000 less than a rival had received. The gain of \$3700 did not cover the injury to Revere's feelings and had to be supplemented by the command that he take the vacated position or retire.

The cases of Jackson and Revere point up both the complexities of career motivation and the play of personal relations in planned organizations.

DEMOTION

Little attention has been given to the fall of individuals in organizations.* Possibly as a status tragedy, the whole subject has been shunned, except for superficial post-mortems on "reasons for failure," which usually skirt the errors of status-givers, the validity of criteria used in selection, and the social factors in organizational defense tactics.

Demotion from failure is typically disguised to protect not only the individual ego and the organization's investment in him, but also his original sponsors. If the demotee has high status, a post is created for him, or he is made an "assistant-to," where "his skills will be most helpful to the company," or he is fitted into a staff "to round out his experience," etc. He retains his previous salary.

B. Schwann was Rees' second assistant. . . . Rees sought to hand down unofficially official decisions to strengthen first-line foremen. When Rees was visiting the Central Office or busy with other things, much of this work fell to Schwann. At other times Schwann was expected to "troubleshoot" and aid in nipping developing grievances by keeping Rees informed on shop affairs. At all times he was expected to have on tap a supply of effective suggestions. Because he was always available, hard-pressed executives called on him more and more for informal suggestions which were

* Demotion for failure is part of "social testing." See Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1927, pp. 182-211. Where Sorokin's concern is the institutional testing of individuals for fitness to remain or be rejected, ours is how failure of the individual in a given position leads not to rejection but to his retention and reclassification in the organization.

treated as decisions by line chiefs—at their wit's end, or eager to involve the staff in trouble. Son of a school teacher, Schwann had little background for making potentially hazardous decisions. He took a degree in education, and in his own words, "led a soft life in college." He then taught in a small high school for several years, became "disgusted" with the work and pay, and took a job as timekeeper in industry. From there he entered Milo by personal connections. He moved to second assistant in five years and was transferred two years later to a newly created clerical office with routine functions in the same staff, "where we can make better use of his psychology." But according to superintendent Meier:

Schwann was eased out because he couldn't do the job. He'd complain of his stomach hurting him. Right in the middle of a meeting with a dozen people sitting around a table, he'd jump up in pain and run out into the hall to get a drink of water and come back with tears running down his cheeks. He knew of the relation between nervous strain and stomach ulcers so he'd pretend he had indigestion. Hell, we all knew he had ulcers. His nervous system just couldn't stand up under that sort of strain.

You'd go up to his office for an answer on some squabble you were in with the union. He'd listen and tighten up all over. Then he'd squirm and twist and strum his fingers on the table. Finally he'd give you an answer and say, "How's that? Is that about right? What do you think?" Well, hell! That's no answer! You go in to see him because you don't know what to do, and then a guy shows you *he* doesn't know what to do! You want a quick, decisive answer and no beating around the bush—something sharp and final, the way Rees hands it out. You're usually holding up things waiting for that answer.

Well, you know what happened. Schwann had to give up. He was too soft. He didn't have the nervous system to take it.

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SINECURES AND COMPETENCE FOR OFFICE

Thinking of sinecures as flexible offices with pay but few if any fixed duties, we can see that the office of "assistant-to" was frequently a sinecure. In addition to the functions of "assistant-to," . . .

sinecures were used to accelerate and bolster careers. They could be created at nearly any level, be dropped arbitrarily, or they could be semipermanent and be succeeded to. But not all posts of "assistant-to" were sinecures, nor were sinecures confined to this office. Whether to reward those who were failing but had served well, or as a substitute for unavailable higher posts, to protect an overrated person from claims beyond his revealed strength . . . as an inducement, to cover errors in judgment of appointing officers, or when given in rare instances just as a favor, in all cases sinecures could have the dignity and façade of any office. For example, the formal organization chart shows that superintendent Ruf had a first-line foreman reporting directly to him. Informants said this foreman had no "real" responsibilities, but was only a "stooge." The same statement was made of the similarly-placed foreman in the charted department between Geiger and Meier. The chart also shows at least a dozen general foremen* without first-line foremen. Some of these offices were clearly more than sinecures, though several of them had few routine duties, and all the occupants received the pay of general foremen for no more than the duties, without the pressures, of first-line foremen. Confidential complaints by some foremen and "authentic" general foremen indicated that several of the offices were given as direct rewards for various reasons. And during reorganizations some had been preserved for morale purposes or to hold highly competent general foremen who might have quit if demoted. Like that of "assistant-to," use of these offices had followed expediency and social demands more than economic logic. However, it is likely that the long-run gains of Milo were greater than if rigid formal theory had been followed.

Never referred to as such, sinecures were common enough to be talked about a great deal at Milo. Informants estimated that the number of "good" sinecures, including those in the staffs, varied from fifteen to twenty-five, while those of less value might fluctuate.

* As bearers of the title, all but three of the most questionable cases of these general foremen were included with the sixty-one on whom occupational data were presented.

tuate to forty-five or more. The failures who held sinecures were spoken of as persons who had "fouled out" or who "couldn't cut the buck." Others were "just on the payroll" for unexplained reasons, or were "fair-haired boys," or possessed "flashy personalities," or had "a lot of get-up and go."

Attitudes toward sinecures were by no means always unfavorable. Much like our senators and their attitudes toward lobbying, few officers, including those at top levels, could be sure that changing conditions or ill-health would not at some time find them glad to be protected or rewarded by a similar post. However, there was resentment in some cases because the real nature and operation of sinecures could not be publicized. Hence some persons mistakenly regarded them as permanent positions and grew embittered after hungering for one specifically only to see it remain vacant for months, or even die. The unofficial existence of sinecures was obviously contrary to organizational theory as well as the ideal in American business and industry that measurable contributions and reward should clearly match in all cases.

VARIATIONS OF INCOME

Salary variations inside specific limits were officially thought to be natural if not inevitable because of tacitly recognized differences in seniority, experience, etc. However, as with other features of planned action, various conditions⁷ intrude to produce unplanned results. Set up in part to protect morale, the limits for a given salary range are overstepped to (a) encourage the nearly indispensable person to whom material reward is uppermost; (b) correct negative errors in appraisal and protect the appointing officer by allowing the granted status to stand, but with reduced salary; (c) lift the spirit of certain persons during presumably temporary reorganization by lowering their rank without salary change, as with demotion of assistant superintendents to general foremen; (d) induce an officer to submit to being "loaned" to another department where his title will continue unchanged to conceal the salary increase and prevent disturbances.

We can get at these variations by comparing an official statement with the beliefs, actions, and analyses of those involved, and with some of the actual salaries.

Cowper (mentioned earlier) was very close to the administration of Milo's salary and wage rates. He spiritedly defended the ideal of a one-to-one relation between individual ability and pay. In his words:

Incomes are confidential. They're an outgrowth of an agreement between a man and his superiors. Each man is correctly merit-rated according to his ability. I'll admit there have been cases where some superintendents have wanted to promote a friend without inquiring whether there was somebody else in another department better qualified for the job.* But that stuff doesn't go around here. In a small loosely-knit plant [*sic*] people can get away with that. But in a large well-knit plant like ours [*sic*], you won't find that kind of thing. I think you'll find that's usually true of most big corporations. You wouldn't find it here anyhow, because Stevens doesn't stand for monkey business.

Our salaries are set up on a sliding scale. A man coming on a job is paid according to where he falls on that scale. There's no question of his being correctly placed on the scale, but *where* he's placed is nobody's concern but his own.

Contrary to Cowper's statement, there was widespread belief that amount of income was influenced as much by "connections" as by ability. The general eagerness to discover even approximate salaries revealed these suspicions. A piece of mail delivered to the wrong office was opened by an officer. When he discovered that it contained code numbers and related data that with other available information and long calculations would reveal the annual salaries of officers in another department to within fifty dollars, he called an assistant and began the computations. Foremen, general fore-

* Silberston, *op. cit.*, p. 14, reports this as common in England: "It seems inevitable in most firms that certain appointments should be made without consulting the appropriate official. This is particularly likely to happen when a suitable person is available within the department where the vacancy occurs." Neither he nor Cowper analyze the system of claims in the department that requires such action.

men, and finally the assistant superintendent stopped all work to await the results. The withdrawal of nine men from regular duties for over two hours reflected the disbelief that incomes measured only ability.

Superintendent Taylor professed a lack of interest in the income of others but revealed a knowledge of techniques for finding out:

Many people in management get a kick out of feeling that they know something other people don't—that they're on the inside. And sometimes they just pretend to know. There's a lot of ways used for finding out about other people's income. People are always alert around tax-paying time. If they can hear just a word out of a man about his taxes, it'll mean a lot. People here in the plant do a lot of figuring on their taxes right in their offices. If you come in suddenly on a man and he gets a phone call just then, you can always let your eyes wander around his desk [laughing]. If you know how many kids a man has and how much taxes he paid, you can come close enough to feel good. People are always straining for a glimpse of somebody's pay stub—that's all it takes—you know right where to look, and one quick look does it. If you know the charging rate * in small departments you can come awful close to figuring what the big wheels get. If you hear a man drop a word about how much company insurance he has, you can come within a hundred dollars or so of his yearly income. If you can learn what the general foreman gets, you can come close to the departmental superintendent. Or if you know a departmental superintendent's salary, you can hit close to the general foreman and the divisional superintendent. There's no doubt that you can learn a great deal about incomes if you compare points with others and give a lot of time to cultivating it.

Taylor also implies that there was always a fixed relation among the salaries of different levels throughout the firm. The evidence shows that, despite the official scales, the managers did not invariably stand in a fixed salary relation to each other. Excluded

* The "charging rate" was the total salaries of technical and administrative employees of a given department divided by the total hours of the year which that department operated, and expressed in dollars.

from the functional cliques, Taylor here again was apparently unaware of practices known to others.

Income data are deficient. At one point in the research at Milo, exact incomes were obtained for ninety-six officers. But while inflation progressed with the research, the timing, rapport, and hazards of my personal contacts lacked this regularity. And as the sources of my information closed, some salaries were increasing more sharply than others. For example, some of the divisional officers received as much as three \$600 increases in one year, with two of the increases coming in the last three months of 1956. Some officers at other levels received only one increase for the year. Hence annual salaries for first-line foremen through department heads are \$1200 to \$2800 more than given, whereas divisional heads are \$3000 to \$8000 more. Estimates of varying reliability roughly double the salaries for the plant manager and assistant but "substantially increase" the distance between them. Since the increases were not to correct imbalances except in a small minority of cases, the original figures still serve our purpose.

The scale of first-line foremen ranged from \$475 to \$600 per month. Yet at least eight salaried foremen were below the minimum with salaries of \$425 a month. Years of service were no key to where foremen were placed on the scale, for one foreman of seven years' service received \$550 for the same job that a foreman of ten years' service received \$475.

The scale for general foremen ranged from \$575 to \$675. Here at least one man was below at \$550, and another was beyond the upper limit with \$750.

The incomes of departmental and divisional heads were given as annual salaries. The actual departmental salaries, with no mention of a scale, ranged from \$8500 to \$14,500. Smith received \$8500; Dicke, \$9500; Taylor, \$10,600; and Geiger, \$14,500. The divisional heads ranged from \$14,500 to \$16,000 with Springer and Revere receiving \$14,500 each,* and Blanke \$16,000. P. Finch received the

* Revere had received increases totaling \$2000 since taking the office, possibly in part to ease his feelings about discrepancies noted earlier.

highest staff salary in Milo, \$15,000. Hardy received \$20,500; and Stevens, \$21,000, as against a salary of \$27,000 paid to Rutherford, his predecessor, several years earlier.

Since need and informal compacts could force salaries below and above "fixed" ranges, they could obviously make changes inside the official ranges even more readily. An officer in the Auditing Department told me:

In the last three or four years certain jobs have jumped up to around \$750 a month. A new man comes in and gets much less, maybe only \$500. Yet inside of six months he'll be getting \$750. There's a lot of politics in here somewhere. It looks to me like some of the flashy personalities * get themselves liked and get around the rules. Some guy that's not liked, or steps on somebody's toes, is held to the rules, or maybe he don't even get the advantages of the rules. It looks to me like Smith [the line superintendent] is one of these. He's a damn good man but he don't click.

Stein sought to justify income variations as largely the result of impersonal necessity:

Many appointments are made on the basis of expediency. Sometimes when things are all snarled up, management has to put in a much bigger man than will be needed later on. Since he's going to have to do something really tough he's going to be paid well. When he gets things going, he'll be taken off the job and the next man will get less for less, which is

* These are the "highly visible" people observed elsewhere—those, e.g., in Evans' remarks (above) who were "known" (as against his not being known) and who in Stein's remarks (below) are "tops in pleasing." See Blanke's remarks in footnote on page 69. Also see P. F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954, p. 155. Phrase-makers have only recently named the practice "high visibility," but the behavior has long been advocated for personal success. For example, a master of many roles in the Italian Renaissance privately counseled, "If you . . . are the follower of some great lord, and would be employed by him in his affairs, endeavour to keep yourself always in his sight. For every hour things will occur to be done which he will commit to him whom he sees, or who is at hand, and not to you if he has to seek or send for you. And whosoever misses an opening, however small, will often lose the introduction or approach to matters of greater moment." Francesco Guicciardini, *Ricordi*, trans. by N. H. Thomson, S. F. Vanni, New York, 1949, p. 85.

only natural. Then again once in a while you'll come across a man who's tops in pleasing. He makes the right impressions and pleases everybody concerned. Since everything high up is based more on impressions than on anything concrete, his real abilities may easily be overestimated and he'll get promoted to a job that his abilities don't justify. Before long this will show up. Well, you'll have to move him, but he stays right on at the same pay. If you were paying him what you thought he was worth, and now you had to move him to some little piddling job, why his pay'll sure as hell be out of line with other jobs of that kind.

Stein begs the question. Seeking to show that salary variations for a given position flowed naturally from the play of impersonal forces, his reference to people who are "tops in pleasing" suggests that personal action to protect failures also contributed to salary differentials. At another time Stein declared that "one big reason" why salaries could vary on the same level at any time, was that younger men were coming in and "finding things all set up for them." Hence they "could not be expected to get as much as the men who had worked long and hard to get things organized." Unless one assumes some unrevealed differences in abilities or initial problems to be overcome, this explanation hardly covers the case of Springer's receiving \$12,500 on taking office at the age of thirty-five, whereas Hardy, taking an office on the same level, several years earlier when inflation was less, received a salary of \$17,500 at the age of twenty-nine. The same holds for the salary of \$27,500 that Rutherford commanded at the age of twenty-nine as compared with \$21,000 given Stevens several years later at the age of sixty-one and after thirty-five years of service with the corporation.

Thus the character of demotions, the use of sinecures and the office of assistant-to, the events attending promotions, the unofficial variations in salary and the multiple contradictions prompting them all complement the conclusions drawn about the data on personnel histories. These findings are of course not breath-taking but are a prerequisite to examining the recurrent charges that a set of unofficial standards was used for regulating careers.

Many profess to know that ability is only one factor in success,

but scorn attempts to explore other influences as time wasted on the "obvious." Yet it is equally obvious that when speaking for the record, these same persons deny concern for any individual quality but "ability." Barnard⁸ is a sophisticated exception. And another top executive ironically observes: "I really don't know how we find the natural leaders. I suppose mostly by smell. However I would not want to deny that there is an element of patronage and pull there [utility field] as everywhere else."⁹ Stryker¹⁰ sees executive criteria as "strictly nebulous," and "based 20 per cent on the record and 80 per cent on the personality." These figures are admirably neat. However even in organizations requiring a high degree of formal education and originality for entrance, as in academic and other institutions, personality can outweigh scholastic fitness in the eyes of both recommenders and selectors of candidates. Aspirants in some cases have stood in the top one per cent of their classes but have been damned as in only the top fifteen per cent because of attitudes and interests dissonant to "sponsors." Unacceptable attitudes can, of course, also lead "recommenders" to overrate the person in helping him move elsewhere.

Unofficial Requirements for Success

In the excerpts from interviews we saw spontaneous references by Bierner, Cowper, Bennett, Perry, Evans, and Cunningham to the Masonic Fraternity, with contradictory implications about membership as a factor in success. Their statements were cautious beside dozens of assertions from other people, non-Masonic Protestants and Catholics alike, that membership was essential. But other unofficial factors were also mentioned. In all we need to look at four alleged career aids: (a) membership in the Masons, which, as we shall see, had the negative aspect of *not* being a Roman Catholic; (b) having a predominantly Anglo-Saxon or Germanic ancestral, or ethnic, background; (c) membership in a local Yacht Club; and (d) being a Republican in politics.¹¹

MASONIC MEMBERSHIP

Endless direct and allusive remarks about Masonry, and the fantasies among workmen about its importance, led me to question representative intimates about these charges.

C. Bicknell, an assistant superintendent who was a Thirty-second Degree Mason, held that:

Being a Mason doesn't help you get a better job, but it does make for better relations. The fact of being brothers in the lodge and being of service to each other is never mentioned, however. You always know that you can get service and help from each other because of that, but it has no direct bearing on you getting a better job. The Masonic Order demands that each man stand on his own feet. Being a Mason may help a man, but only in a general way. The Masons in a sense are a religious organization. If you know the Bible, you've got the principles of Freemasonry. We've nothing against the Catholics being Masons, but the Church don't like us.

Superintendent Ames, a Mason, avoided discussion of Masonry in connection with Milo but implied a great deal:

If you and I go into a strange town, and we're both broke and have no friends there, I'll have friends at once and you won't. That's what it means to be a Mason—you'll have friends among strangers and your friends who are Masons will do more for you than they would for people who're not Masons. Let me give you an example. I was down in St. Louis at the airport and wanted to get a plane for Chicago. I was in a long line. By the time I got up to fourth place, the three people ahead of me were all turned away—they wanted tickets to Chicago, too. I was about ready to leave when I noticed a ring on the finger of the ticket agent. I was smoking a cigar, so I casually put my elbow on the window and held my hand up where my ring could be seen. When the agent asked me what he could do for me, I told him I'd like two seats on a plane to Chicago. He looked me over and said, "Wait a minute, I think I can fix you up!" He stepped over and made a phone call and came back and said, "Yes, it's okay." What do you think of that?

C. Waring, a general foreman and a Mason, was noncommittal, but smiled and said, "I guess you know there's plenty of Masons

around here. Well, that's not all. There's going to be a damn sight more of them!"

A staff supervisor who was not a Mason declared:

I think the Masons are a good organization, but not the bunch they've got around here. There's too many social climbers and ambitious people getting in. They're ruining the Masons. They don't want in to do the organization any good; they want it to help them get a better job. There's so many of the big wheels in the Masons now that they just about run the plant.

Younger Catholics regarded the Masons with rancor. But a fifty-four-year-old staff specialist of that group was more temperate:

I think the Masons are getting too strong in the plant, but a fellow has to be fair. You probably never heard of it since it was before your time, but we've had two managers here in the last twenty-five years that were Catholics. And one of them put in quite a few Catholics when it was convenient. Maybe not the way the Masons do now, but it was done. The big shots in [the Central Office] know that things work that way. I think they sort of alternate Catholics and Masons to keep the thing balanced up.

There was no evidence to refute or support this statement.

Another general foreman, J. Clancy, aged sixty-one, had received hints that his application for membership in the order would be welcomed, but he hesitated to apply:

I think the Masons are a fine organization. I've wanted to get in for years, but I'm afraid to. More than three-fourths of my men [workmen] are Masons. If I was a Mason they'd be on my tail all the time for special favors. That would worry the life out of me. Some bosses don't mind things like that—some of them might even want it like that. But I want to treat all my men just the same. I don't want to play favorites.

Blanke gave an indirect testimonial of Masonic strength among the managers. He advised the griever, Brady, who had applied and was acceptable to the Fraternity, "Don't join while you're a griever. You'll find too many of your boys (rank-and-file) yelling that you've sold out to management."

Catholics were acceptable to the Fraternity, but they considered themselves ineligible, they said, because of the Church's opposition to certain oaths required of Masons. Yet their conviction of the importance of being a Mason led several of them to drop out of the Church and join the Order. O'Brien was one of these. Appointed by an earlier Catholic plant head, O'Brien sat in one of the front pews with that manager during his tenure. But when this sponsor died and was succeeded by a Mason, and O'Brien saw various retiring Catholics replaced by Masons, he dropped out of the Church and joined the Fraternity. Most of the Milo Catholics were embittered toward him, but two Catholic general foremen and five first-line foremen followed him in a few months. Fraternity members admitted this. Several aspiring Catholics of Polish, Italian, and Lithuanian descent who made the change also changed their names. Younger Catholics were naturally uneasy about their future. They asserted that where the Catholics were only five per cent, or less, of management, they should be a majority as they were in Magnesia, where the current and preceding Mayors as well as the district national congressmen were all Catholics.*

Intimates were quizzed to establish who was Catholic and Mason and who was neither. The count and percentages of officers in these groups among the 226 managers are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Masons and Catholics in Management

| MANAGERIAL GROUP | MASONS | | CATHOLICS | | NEITHER | | TOTAL OFFICERS |
|--------------------|--------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|-------------------|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % | |
| Staff | 19 | 52.8 | 5 | 13.9 | 12 | 33.3 | 36 |
| Superintendents | 28 | 77.8 | 3 | 8.3 | 5 | 13.9 | 36 |
| General foremen | 39 | 64.0 | 12 | 19.7 | 10 | 16.4 | 61 |
| First-line foremen | 70 | 75.0 | 10 | 10.9 | 13 | 14.1 | 93 |
| Total | 156 | 69.0 | 30 | 13.3 | 40 | 17.7 | 226 |

* Their statements concerning the community and its public officials were correct. Senior priests in Magnesia observed that the number of Roman Catholic managers at Milo had been "declining for years," and they estimated Magnesia's Catholic population at 59 to 85 per cent of the total.

We see that the Masons, 69 per cent,* were considerably less than the 95 per cent alleged by the Catholics. But if we drop the Catholics from our calculation, because as a group they considered themselves ineligible, we see that nearly 80 per cent of the eligible managers were Masons. This is a highly significant difference and suggests, with the other data, that Masonic membership was usually an unofficial requirement for getting up—and for remaining there.

Assuming that Masonic membership, with the superintendents 78 per cent strong, was an unofficial test for success, we might expect the next highest concentration to be among the general, rather than first-level, foremen. Status uncertainty among the latter was probably a factor. In their confusion over whether they were in the fold of management or worker, they saw Masonic rings and buttons as symbols of being solidly in management. Also, 25 per cent of those foremen, more than any other level, were members of minority groups as foreign born or first generation Americans. Many had changed their heavily consonated Central-European surnames to Anglo-Saxon names similar to those of top management. These first-line foremen also contributed most of those who dropped Catholicism to show another item of similarity to the status-givers, and to make a tacit plea for the opportunity to conform still further by becoming Masons.

The age, educational, and job differences we discussed in staff-line friction probably held the staff group to low Masonic membership. Most of the seventeen nonmembers aspired to be Masons, but feared that blackball by one of the lodges, any of which might contain line enemies, would jeopardize future entry at a more favorable time. Hence they waited. Also most of the staff Masons were older (only five under forty), former line men untrained in staff duties. Their ineptness, lack of contributions, and use of the staff as a refuge with known line sponsors protecting them, all generated internal frictions disposing these older officers not to vote the younger "pure-bred" staff people into the Fraternity.

* The difference between the 69 per cent who were Masons and the 31 per cent combined Catholics and "neutrals," would, by Chi-square, occur by chance about 7.5 times in 100.

Cowper, as a staff non-Mason, was the highest placed Catholic in Milo. He was secure because of his contributions and personal charm, because he showed loyalty in crises,¹² and because he had been around long enough to destroy doubts and to win the esteem of all groups. In the staffs he was a sustaining nucleus for the non-Masons.

The informal power chart also shows the importance of Masonic membership: of the twenty-one officers, only Stevens and Knight were not Masons.

ANCESTRY, OR ETHNIC COMPOSITION

In Mobile Acres, as elsewhere,¹³ there were feelings of varying intensity about differences in national origin. Talk of this was of course more open and crude on lower levels than on the higher,¹⁴ but some feeling was common on all levels. Those in the groups least acceptable to the majority naturally missed nothing of the animus against them. Especially, low-level minority staff employees made the common lament of minority groups, "You've got to be twice as smart to get half as far." Obstructors were identified by the repeated charge that "there are too many Johnny Bulls and Kraut-eaters around here." At the work level one might find brunette Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Scandinavian, and German extractees referring to those (sometimes blond) of Italian, Polish, Slovak, and Lithuanian descent as "dagoes," "hunkies," and "wops." Thus both majority and minority members identified each other more, or as much, by personal knowledge sharpened by rivalry than by physical traits.

We have already referred to name changing. Workers and first-line foremen of Slavic origin were especially sensitive about their polysyllabic names and the related problem of spelling and pronunciation that brought ridicule on them. Several minority families developed permanent rifts over name changing by the children.

Resentment over failure to rise sometimes led minority persons

openly to charge discrimination. Paul Sarto, a first-line foreman of Italian descent, despaired of becoming a general foreman and resented the fact that two German-born associates had reached that level. His resentment exploded during one of the weekly cost meetings held in his department after regular quitting time. Some thirty minutes into these meetings, he typically arose, announced he was going home, and left. On one occasion his chief, Ames, objected. Sarto answered:

I've told you what I had to say and I've listened to you guys beat around the bush for half an hour after quitting time. I've got nothing to stick around here for. I'm not going any higher. I've got the wrong complexion to get any place. I'm going to stay right where I am regardless of how much I do. I don't want any hard feelings about it, but facts are facts. See you tomorrow.

The meaning of other cases was similar.

The alleged exclusive selection by ethnic stock was checked by studying the national origins, surnames, and birthplaces of the managers. This was done in part by personal knowledge, by check-

Table 3. The Ethnic Character of Management

| ETHNICITY | STAFF | | SUPTS. | | GEN. FORE. | | FOREMEN | | TOTAL % IN SAMPLE |
|--------------|-------|-------|--------|-------|------------|-------|---------|-------|----------------------|
| | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % | NO. | % | |
| Anglo-Saxon | 18 | 50 | 26 | 72.2 | 41 | 67.2 | 47 | 50.5 | 58.4 |
| German | 12 | 33.4 | 10 | 27.8 | 16 | 26.3 | 22 | 23.6 | 26.5 |
| Scandinavian | 5 | 13.9 | | | | | 10 | 10.8 | 6.6 |
| Italian | 1 | 2.7 | | | 2 | 3.3 | 3 | 3.2 | 2.6 |
| Polish | | | | | | | 4 | 4.3 | 1.8 |
| French | | | | | 1 | 1.6 | 3 | 3.2 | 1.8 |
| Croat-Serb | | | | | 1 | 1.6 | 2 | 2.2 | 1.3 |
| Spanish | | | | | | | 1 | 1.1 | 0.5 |
| Negro | | | | | | | 1 | 1.1 | 0.5 |
| Total | 36 | 100.0 | 36 | 100.0 | 61 | 100.0 | 93 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

ing with intimates to uncover name changes and get the family name, by use of personnel records, by free interviewing with doubtful persons, etc. The total members of each ethnic group and their percentages in each class of managers are shown in Table 3.

We see that Sarto was both wrong and right—2 Italians did make the grade of general foreman, but 16 German ethnics did also. The important thing for the minorities though, is that the Anglo-Saxons constituted at least half of each group of managers, that the German ethnics were next in number, and the two together made up all the superintendents. And the Anglo-German combination increased directly from bottom to top. In percentage the Anglo-Saxons were lower and the Germans higher in the staffs than elsewhere. Together they made up 83 per cent of that body, their lowest combined proportions in any group but the first-line foremen.

Differences* in the various levels leave little doubt that one's ethnic make-up was a factor in his success. But the differences take on still greater meaning when, as the Milo Catholics did, we look at Magnesia's ethnic pattern. Using a new city directory and making surnames† the gauge of national origin, a random sample showed the Anglo-Saxons to make up only 26 per cent, and the Germans 12 per cent, of Magnesia's population. And though only a minority of Milo's dominant ethnics were foreign born, the census data showed that this reservoir in Magnesia was also limited: those born in Germany and the British Isles together constituting less than 15 per cent of the city's population. Thus ethnics

* Differences in percentages of Anglo-Saxons between first- and second-level foremen and between superintendents and first-line foremen were significant at the 5 per cent level. But between general foremen and superintendents the difference could have been due to chance nearly three times in ten.

† This device of course overlooked the extent to which names may have been changed and the fact that migration weakens the criterion. Since nearly all of Magnesia's Negro population had Anglo-Saxon names, all such names from the area in which Negroes resided were counted with the non-Anglo-Saxon and non-Germanic ethnics.

composing probably less than 38 per cent of the community filled 85 per cent of Milo's advisory and directive forces.*

MEMBERSHIP IN A YACHT CLUB

Discussions of outings, week-ends, the "blowouts" of past seasons, party planning at the Yacht Club, and plant gossip about the meaning of social activities there—all indicated that the Club was indeed a place where careers might be influenced. . . . Here we need to view the Club (*a*) as the less successful supervisors saw it, and (*b*) as it related to the managerial group in terms of the alleged bearing of membership in it on rank in Milo. Milo managers had no exclusive control of the Club. The managers of Fruhling, Attica,

* Ethnic stratification has long been documented by students. See, among many others, P. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-128, 280-312; W. L. Warner and L. Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947; R. M. MacIver and C. H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis*, Rinehart and Co., New York, 1949, pp. 349-416; J. O. Hertzler, *Society in Action*, The Dryden Press, New York, 1954, pp. 232-234. Selection by ethnic affinity, other things equal, is not of course confined to industry or to the present. My colleagues have pointed out to me cases in the academic world. Barnard (*Functions of the Executive*, p. 224) notes the need, in order that men may function together, of using many social characteristics and personal traits as tests of fitness in selection. Specific situations may stress some and exclude others. But these criteria, including "race, nationality, faith, politics, sectional antecedents," etc., represent "in [the] best sense the political aspects of personal relationships in formal organizations." He believes these informal tests to be "most highly developed in political, labor, church, and university organizations," because "the intangible types of personal services are relatively more important in them than in . . . industrial organizations."

History is replete with cases of ethnic selection, even where there is zeal for reform as in the Emperor Diocletian's administrative reorganization in the third and fourth centuries. With ability scattered through dozens of provinces, he, an Illyrian peasant, chose Maximian, of similar origin, for his co-Augustus. For their subordinate *Caesars* they selected Constantius, of Illyrian origin; and Galerius, born in adjoining Thrace but tested in the service of Aurelian and Probus, two earlier Illyrian peasant emperors. Whether or not Diocletian chose these associates explicitly because of the ethnic tie, there seems little doubt that their common backgrounds were assumed in some sense to give a common outlook, as well as the promise of deference to his judgment on doubtful questions. See the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge University Press, 1939, Vol. 12, pp. 200, 325-330.

and other firms, and high civic figures of Magnesia shared its social activities. The Club in effect was (*a*) an outpost of Milo social life (managers and aspirants), (*b*) a center for the city's unofficial inter-industrial communication, and (*c*) a major bond between all the industries and the community.

Evans and Cunningham referred above to the Club, but others attacked it as the center for self-advancement for those who lacked "ability." The implication was that in the softening atmosphere of beach picnics, group swimming and water games, dancing in the pavilion with each other's wives and daughters; and in the small intimate gatherings for cruising and fishing, many ideal situations arose for making personal contacts and demands that extended to the plant.¹⁵ These claims allegedly would be applied directly by climbers and reinforced by community figures intimate with both the aspirants and various high managers. The community career brokers included two former mayors, the leading bank president and several of his officials, lawyers, physicians, and various business leaders.

Activity in the Club was statistically less of a test for entry in management than was ethnic background and Masonic membership. Club activity aided the candidate who had other things in his favor. Hence we find that Milo members of the Club were less neatly ordered by rank than they were with respect to national origin and membership in the secret society.

One hundred fourteen Milo employees were members. This included 14 superintendents of whom Geiger was one and president of the Club, 24 general foremen, 29 first-line foremen, and 47 staff personnel. The latter group contained 14 officers in the sample, and 33 lower supervisory and nonsupervisory personnel outside the sample. With what we have seen of staff ambition and insecurity, the total of 47 suggests that staff people saw life in the Club as solid preparation for the future, but their greater preference for parties and clubbing must also be considered as a factor in their membership. Observation in the Club, and many casual but revealing remarks showed that freely given efforts to increase and

maintain the Club's physical plant were not forgotten by higher officers pondering the future of this candidate as against that one.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION

. . . All the managers were Republican in politics, or feigned to be as an essential for their success. Three conditions showed this: (1) With newspapers at hand representing the usual range of political views, the managers almost to a man carried a famous "isolationist" paper into the plant. (2) Discussions among managers favorable to Democratic ideologies were covert and occurred chiefly among first-line foremen. (3) All managers who at some time had served in public office did so as Republicans.

• • • •

However, there were Democrats among the managers, including at least twenty-nine of the first-line foremen. Cunningham was exceptional in being a Democrat in middle management. When questioned as to how this squared with the typical feelings about the need of being a Republican, he replied:

I am supposed to be a Republican. Don't get the idea I pop off to other people on politics the way I do to you. I'm just trying to help you with what you're doing. And don't think that they [top management] don't know you before you get to be a general supervisor! You've got to be a damn good actor or you don't get that far!

Bearing the stamp of an authentic Republican was in some cases an open-sesame to placement at high levels. Superintendent J. Lambert had held a political office for the Republican Party in Magnesia, and he had been state auditor for several years on the same ticket. On losing the auditorship to a Democrat he entered Milo, without industrial experience, as "chief"¹⁶ of a department. The title was changed to superintendent two years later, though informants say he started with the salary of superintendent. Lambert's political experience and party loyalty filled his conversation. Many of his employees, known by their friends to be Democrats,

felt coerced to echo his political sentiments to escape suspicion of holding contrary views. Their friends ridiculed them for having "no guts."

Milo also employed the county auditor following his defeat after five successive terms on the Republican ticket. He too lacked industrial experience and specific training for his Milo post, but was made assistant staff supervisor at once and general supervisor six years later. Without supporting evidence, informants made much of the probable ties between the earlier political roles of these officers and tax assessments on Milo properties, with the implication that Milo was indebted to them. Since these were the only cases of this kind, it is not known whether persons of similar experience but other political leanings would have been chosen in this way or not.

Assuming that Republican dogma reflected the convictions of Republican managers, one can see how a theory of private enterprise would operate in career activities to resist or evade formal step-by-step procedures for advancement.

Discussion and Conclusions

Use of unofficial tests of fitness for entry and rise through the levels should not imply that appointing officers are interested only, or even primarily, in the aspirants meeting these tacit standards. The problem is more complex. The replacement of Lane by Rees, the choice of Blanke over Taylor, the movement of Schwann, the manipulation of Jackson, the use of sinecures, etc., all indicate concern with ability in the sense of getting the job done with minimum disturbance for the organization. Talent to carry on in this vaguely pragmatic way was understood to be a requirement in all selections. Certainly no superior at Milo or elsewhere would want a subordinate in a responsible position who could not passably meet both stated and tacit expectations. This basic competence was understood, despite occasional errors in the judging and selecting of candidates.

Why, then, the use of informal standards of fitness? Milo chiefs were like Reynolds of Attica, Jessup of Fruhling, and several executives cited by Ginzberg in having little interest or belief in the merit of formal selection. Even where there is interest, the means usually proposed do not measure what is essential.¹⁷ Dimock's¹⁸ contention that the executive must be a "tactitian and a philosopher," a "statesman," and a "responsible manipulator," is relevant for our data, but these concepts have not been formalized into schemes for appraisal of executives. These labels refer to varieties of leadership the meaning of which often varies with the speaker.¹⁹

Barnard's²⁰ discussion of leadership continues to be one of the most penetrating. He is concerned with the executive's problem in making personnel changes. Any change is likely to bring demand for more change when individuals and groups are competing for advantage and reward on the assumption that all are equally able and deserving. Dealing with the democratic situation, in which subordinates have the right to talk back and to do something about their dissatisfactions, requires political skills in addition to formal competence. However, open discussion of differences in this respect is taboo because of potential discord, loss of confidence among members, etc.

Nevertheless higher officers must consider the capacity of competing candidates to utilize and aid necessary cliques, control dangerous ones, etc. Too often the search for men who combine formal competence with this unspecified skill throws a top officer into despair. He is likely to put a premium on "loyalty" in terms of the candidate's seeing the job as he does. Wittingly or not, he begins to look for attitudes like his own as assuring a basis for understanding and cooperation. But he knows the difficulty of getting at the disposition and probable behavior of untried and artful people, however overwhelming their credentials. Hence at varying levels of conscious purpose, the appointing chief gropes for more valid marks of loyalty. This does not of course mean that he does not value subordinates who on occasion differ with him.

With considerable scientific support, his search moves on the

assumption that those with qualities and interests like his own will think as he does. Hence in his quandary he finds it good that the prospective candidate is also Irish, went to such-and-such a school, came from a "good" family (socioeconomically like his own),²¹ and has civic activities and recreational tastes similar to his own. These likenesses would naturally not be advanced as proofs of fitness in general discussion, but tacitly or unconsciously they predispose judges to see the prospect as one with a "good job outlook" and readiness to act jointly on critical issues.* Moved by these pleasing characteristics, the desperate personnel assessor may easily overlook other qualities. He receives every encouragement from the ambitious and "highly visible" subordinate who is probing for ways to please, and for marks he can copy to show the chief how much they have in common.† This aggressive self-advertisement and social mimicry may quite naturally be interpreted as a sign of the desired political skill. Certainly it indicates strong desire and a will to succeed which can push the inert excellence of other candidates out of the picture. But such behavior is not a guarantee of executive finesse, and may well indeed conceal the lack of it as well as other necessary qualities. It is thus quite possible for the highly visible appointee to be attitudinally out of step with his

* See Bicknell's remarks above on Masonry.

† Stein frankly stated that he became a member of Hardy's church because he "thought it would help." He pointed to others who variously followed the practice. Currying of favor by simulated likenesses is immemorial. In his *Letters* to his son (especially the letters of May 11, June 26, November 11 and 16, 1752—in Dobrée ed.) Chesterfield confidentially recommended it, and he successfully practiced it. Machiavelli openly advocated it (*Discourses*, Bk. 2, D. 2), but was much less successful in practicing it than his contemporary Guicciardini, the historian, who publicly denounced it but privately advised it (H. Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli*, Macmillan, New York, 1956, p. 115). Hazlitt attacked it (e.g., the essay, "On Patronage and Puffing"), and suffered from his refusal to practice it. Writing on industrial organization, as an active executive, Willkie (*A Rebel Yells*, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1946, p. 191) declares that "all men tend to ape those above them in the hope of becoming socially and professionally acceptable." Also see the systematic comments of Samuel Haig Jameson, "Principles of Social Interaction," *American Sociological Review*, 10: 6-10, February, 1945.

sponsors, and yet misleadingly appear to have been lifted by favoritism based on his successful mimicry. He may of course fit both the formal and informal tests and still fail if the official criteria are not based on what is needed in the executive role.

Willkie,²² however, fears that all such aping is likely to get out of control. The "powerful executive" surrounds himself with "a corps of hardened yes-men . . . who pick up ideas from their superior, amplify them, and parrot them impressively. . . ." In industry an "unconscious conspiracy" develops "a strong, secret, and tacit organization which maintains itself by accepting only those with similar ideas, or those friends, relatives, and class-conscious equals who can be counted on to support the hierarchy."²³

Without being an apologist, one must note that this condition is the ultimate consequence of selection purely on the basis of social traits; it is not true of all industry,* nor confined to industry, nor inevitable. As a "rebel," Willkie is of course overstating what has always been present in varying degrees in most organizations in the more complex societies. It is pedantic even to mention that this can be documented voluminously by various students. Obviously an industrial firm is fossilizing when selective criteria—as any set of attitudes and characteristics—become ends in themselves. However when concern with social traits is limited to avoidance of what would be blatantly negative items to most members, the threat to the organization is much less than the other extreme of focus on purely formal qualifications. A fetish of formal tests can lead to their use as a blind to prevent charges of favoritism.²⁴ Employed with this intent, status-givers may still (a) select with attention to formal and social skills as without the test, and at the same time (b) adroitly inject various personal, cultural, and ethnic preferences to maintain a "balance of power" among two or more factions. Here, as elsewhere, men can decide what they want and then wilfully reason their way to a conclusion.

* Since about three-eighths of the Milo managers had relevant formal training, and most of them had years of industrial experience, this was not true there despite the weight of informal factors.

Those concerned to avoid this might first limit the pool of candidates to the technically fit,²⁵ so that the final focus can identify those most able to deal with internal tensions and the more subtle phases of group actions.

This dual focus promises (*a*) more judgment and less moral anguish in those who must communicate things forbidden to the dignity of formal channels,²⁶ and gives (*b*) some assurance of the approximate homogeneity basic to ready cooperation.²⁷

Despite mountains of print on the subject, there are still no generally accepted indexes of competence in office. We cannot say how much of what develops after a decision is the result of the decision maker's insights, and how much arises from unassessed factors in the ongoing complex. Some executives²⁸ see the situation as so ambiguous that "most people don't live long enough to get blame or credit" for their decisions, and that one's decisions may never be proved wrong.²⁹ Drucker³⁰ expects a steady increase in the time-span for testing a decision, and even stronger, Urwick³¹ feels that an indefinite future is required to tell the effects of a decision.

Our showing the minor role of formal as compared with informal factors does not mean that no effective managers* made the grade at Milo, or that if they did, it was by chance. Certainly not. For if we see the able executive as one who inspires confidence, who finds a way where apparently none existed and adapts rules without destroying their intent, who balances official and unofficial claims with minimum damage to himself and the organization, then Hardy, Ames, Dicke, Boesel, Meier, Geiger, Blanke, Springer, and others were competent leaders who met the informal tests as well as the few explicit formal requirements. On the other hand, Stevens, Taylor, Smith, Revere, Ruf, and O'Brien were lesser

* In terms of profits and dividends paid, Milo was definitely successful and presumably well-managed. However, one former "insider" in another industry declares that if capital and market are large enough, a firm may be a "huge financial success" and hide the fact that it is poorly managed. See T. K. Quinn, "Sovereign State of G.M.," *The Nation*, May 26, 1956, pp. 447-448.

leaders—by this standard—who met the ethnic and Masonic test (excepting Stevens), but did not meet the subtler requirements of sharing off-the-job activities that interlocked with those of the community. Certainly they did not meet the expectation that they effectively move in and out of clique activities as necessary, and compromise readily on smaller things to preserve greater ones. To push the theory, their high visibility and smiling haste to meet the more obvious informal requirements led to overevaluation of their fitness, relative to the other group.

Since higher officers eventually move, die, or retire, obviously no specific social earmarks can be fixed, however much a given set may be the focus of imitation today. Given the internal struggles that play around every important replacement, there is each time some unavoidable departure from the current balance of formal and informal factors. As at Milo, gradual changes over thirty years converted the item of a Catholic majority to a minority and a Masonic minority to a majority.

In terms of democratic theory, any set of informal requirements may become discriminatory. And when they are made ends in themselves, they certainly become undemocratic. But when controlled, they are likely to form a basis for cooperative effort. Men need not like each other to cooperate, and people with similar characteristics may dislike each other. But mutual liking—which is more probable when key characteristics and viewpoints are similar—assures a cooperative tie that formal selection and guidance, with all its merits, cannot guarantee.

Movement up any organizational ladder is subject to many influences outside individual and official control. Among these are (*a*) the effects of rivalries for personal success; (*b*) the limited number of positions; (*c*) the loose and shifting nature of our society, which weakens existing formal means of ascent and biases personnel against new ones; (*d*) the unavoidable influence of personal feelings in any interacting group; and (*e*) the clash of individual and organizational interests, which minimizes the official ways of getting up and encourages the unofficial.

Documentary Notes

1. See for example, such reports as "The Nine Hundred," *Fortune*, 42 (5) 132-135, November, 1952; William Miller, ed., *Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Social Stratification*, Macmillan, New York, 1932; Suzanne I. Keller, "Social Origins and Career Lines of Three Generations of American Business Leaders," Columbia University Ph.D. Thesis, New York, 1954; C. Wright Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait," *The Tasks of Economic History*, Supplement V to *The Journal of Economic History*, December, 1945; Eli Ginzberg, ed., *What Makes an Executive?*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1955; Mabel Newcomer, *The Big Business Executive*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1955; W. Lloyd Warner and J. C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn., 1955, and the same data prepared for the nonprofessional reader, *Big Business Leaders in America*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1955.
2. See also "The Nine Hundred," *loc. cit.*; Delbert C. Miller, "The Seattle Business Leader," *Pacific Northwest Business*, College of Business Administration, University of Washington, 15: 5-12, 1956; Gordon F. Lewis and C. Arnold Anderson, "Social Origins and Social Mobility of Businessmen in an American City," reprinted from *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, 3: 253-266, 1956.
3. Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, *Industrial Sociology*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, pp. 717-774; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1945, chap. 6, p. 386.
4. Wallace B. Donham, *Education for Responsible Living*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1944; Chester Barnard, "Education for Executives," *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, 18: 175-182, 1945; H. Frederick Willkie, *A Rebel Yells*, D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, chaps. 12, 14-24, 1946; W. H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1956, p. 79.
5. See T. V. Smith, "In Accentuation of the Negative," *The Scientific Monthly*, 63: 463-469, December, 1946, and his scintillating little book, *The Ethics of Compromise*, Starr King Press, Boston, 1956. Also

pertinent here is chap. 12 in Ralph Barton Perry, *Realms of Value*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954.

6. P. F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1954, pp. 154-155, admits this condition is widespread in industry. C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956, pp. 133-134, 386, contends that corporate careers in America are not "bureaucratic" in the sense of regular upward movement by virtue of specific fitness and examination at each step. Studies touching this topic in government agencies include Peter Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*, University of Chicago Press, 1954; R. G. Francis and R. C. Stone, *Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1956.

7. Robert K. Merton, "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action," *American Sociological Review*, 1: 894-904, December, 1936.

8. C. I. Barnard, *Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1945, p. 224.

9. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

10. Perrin Stryker et al., *A Guide to Modern Management Methods*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1954, pp. 259-261.

11. See the comments of Donald E. Super, *The Psychology of Careers*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1957, p. 134, on the use of informal criteria in research designs.

12. Everett C. Hughes, "Queries Concerning Industry and Society Growing Out of Study of Ethnic Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, 14: 218-220, 1949.

13. Orvis Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 293-298, 1946; Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet*, The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 1952.

14. See comment on the effects of "spurious tolerance" and "human-relations mindedness" in the organizations of today. Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin, "Executives and Supervisors: Informal Factors in Differential Bureaucratic Promotion," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, No. 2, September, 1957, pp. 212 ff.

15. For discussion of the weight of informal situations in decision-

making, see Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1953, and "The Decision-Makers," *The Nation*, August 21, 1954, pp. 148-150.

16. *Chief* was his title. The term was rare at Milo, though I have used it loosely throughout the book as synonymous with *department head* and *superintendent*.

17. Aubrey Silberston, *Education and Training for Industrial Management*, Management Publications, Ltd. The Millbrook Press, Ltd., London, 1955, p. 6 ff.; Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

18. M. E. Dimock, *The Executive in Action*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1945, pp. 4-5, 8, 65-66.

19. See the introduction in Alvin Gouldner, ed., *Studies in Leadership*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1950; P. Selznick, "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy," *American Sociological Review*, 8: 51-54, February, 1943; R. Tannenbaum, V. Kallejian, I. R. Weschler, "Training Managers for Leadership," *Personnel*, 30 (no. 4), 2-8, January, 1954; L. Urwick, *The Pattern for Management*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1956, pp. 56-73; Dimock, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-205.

20. C. I. Barnard, *Organization and Management*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 24-47.

21. See the provocative, humorous, and over-neat book of W. H. Whyte, Jr., *Is Anybody Listening?*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1952. And on the influence of family at the start of industrial careers in a southern metropolitan area, see Coates and Pellegrin, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-215.

22. Willkie, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

24. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

25. Drucker, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

26. Barnard, *Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1938, p. 225.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 224; E. Dale in Kruisinga, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

28. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

30. Drucker, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

31. Urwick, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Suggestions for Further Reading

CHESTER I. BERNARD, *Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938). One of the earliest studies of the executive. Bernard's work has served as a stimulus for several more empirical examinations of executive life.

ALVIN W. GOULDNER, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (New York: Free Press, 1954). An interesting work about the consequences of bureaucratic rules for the maintenance of organizational structure.

JAMES G. MARCH and HERBERT A. SIMON, *Organizations* (New York: Wiley, 1958). A penetrating analysis of the extent to which the organization arises from the limitations of human rational capacities. The book also presents an excellent discussion of the works of several organizational theorists.

MAX WEBER, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed., Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford, 1947). The first, and a still important, theoretical analysis of formal organizations and their bureaucratic characteristics.

*Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities**

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.

American sociologists use the term "minority groups" to refer to those groups in the United States who face certain handicaps, who are subject to discrimination, and who are objects of prejudice from most other people.¹ These minority groups can be objectively distinguished by one or more of four different characteristics: race, nationality, religion, and language. A concern with relations between majority and minority groups has become prominent in social science research only within the last generation.

Although several studies of majority-minority relations have been made,² *Strangers Next Door* is probably the most comprehensive

* The material reprinted here is from Chapter 6 of Robin M. Williams, Jr., *Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities*, © 1964. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. (The book was written with the collaboration of John P. Dean and Edward A. Suchman.)

¹ Arnold M. Rose, "Race and Ethnic Relations," in Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, eds., *Contemporary Social Problems* (New York: Harcourt, 1966).

² For example, Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Social Change and Prejudice* (New York: Free Press, 1964); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937); Gunnar Myrdal, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold M. Rose, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).

prehensive empirical study of intergroup relations that has thus far been conducted in the United States. The purpose of the research program evolved into *Strangers Next Door*, as Williams states in his preface to the book, was "to lay a basis for a better understanding of attitudes and behavior involved in relations among racial, ethnic, and religious groupings in the United States." Originally, Williams and his associates had planned a three-year study of Elmira, a middle-sized industrialized community in upstate New York. As they began to collect data, however, it became clear that attitudes and behavior in Elmira might be less universal than they had first thought, that the attitudes and behavior of the white majority of gentiles toward minority groups in Elmira might not fully indicate those of majority group members elsewhere in the country. Additional information was obtained from an elaborate mail survey of almost 250 cities with populations of 10,000 or more. Special attention was given to four cities in the study: Hometown (Elmira, New York), Steelville (Steubenville, Ohio), Valley City (Bakersfield, California), and Southport (Savannah, Georgia). At the time of the survey, all of these communities were industrial areas with populations ranging from 40,000 to 120,000. Each had a predominantly working-class population, and each had at least two ethnic minorities—one of which was Negro. Although the research staff collected much of their data through interviews, they also employed a wide variety of other techniques, including direct observation, participant observation, and analysis of documents.

Williams and his associates devoted considerable attention to examining intergroup attitudes and experiences in American society. Among their goals in this broad and ambitious undertaking were attempts to determine the extent that Negroes and whites accepted various stereotypes of one another, whether minorities were seen by majority-group Americans as demanding too much, and the level of the Negroes' feelings of social distance toward white people. In this book, Williams discusses the significance of the findings for the way complex societies function and change. He emphasizes the urgency of determining what specific societal conditions produce cooperation rather than conflict, and he notes

the importance of discovering how conflict can be used to enhance understanding and social growth. The potential significance of a study such as this one is suggested by the words with which Williams closes his book: "There may be strangers next door, but we too are visitors in a world we did not make. Enrichment of our understanding of the others possibly will enrich our understanding of ourselves. It may even help us to make the most of our stay on this small planet."

In the section of Strangers Next Door presented here, the main concern is with patterns of segregation, discrimination, and conflict. The authors describe these patterns in a highly sophisticated way, taking the data collected from the nationwide survey of 248 cities and systematically analyzing the elements of size, location, and ethnic makeup as these relate to segregation and discrimination in a particular community. Most of the data, of course, were collected in the period 1948-1952, and care must be exercised in judging the applicability of some of the study's facts and interpretations to current conditions. In the main, however, the report of this research project's method and findings stand firmly as an excellent guide and standard of comparison for future research efforts, as well as a valuable source of enlightening data and interpretation.

Patterns of Segregation, Discrimination, and Conflict

In the following [pages] . . . we will attempt to discover whether there is a national pattern of intergroup relations, how practices of segregation and discrimination vary among regions and types of communities, and what social conditions are associated with intergroup conflict. Variations in five major factors insure that patterns of intergroup behavior will differ from one community to another. These factors are:

1. *Size of community and size of minority population in the community.*
2. *Official segregation.* Segregated schools, restrictive covenants,

separate Negro and white chapters of organizations, etc., erect highly effective barriers to interaction.

3. *Discrimination.* In all communities in the United States, although in varying degrees, discriminatory practices exist that serve to limit the number of opportunities for intergroup contact. Usually such discriminatory practices exclude minority-group members from certain activities and places and produce effective unofficial segregation.

4. *Customary community practices.* Less obvious than segregation and discrimination are the many operating practices for intergroup behavior that arise in all communities. These are community patterns that define whether or not intergroup situations are appropriate and acceptable.

5. *Intergroup positive action programs.* Active promotional efforts to increase intergroup interaction affect the opportunities available to individuals for intergroup contacts.

Size of Total Community and Minority Population

Our data show that some demographic variables are highly related to a wide range of patterns of segregation, discrimination, and intergroup conflict. Group relations are markedly different not only in the North and South, but also in big cities and small towns, and in cities with a high proportion and those with a low proportion of members of particular minorities. Demographic conditions make some patterns of intergroup relations more probable than others; they circumscribe the forms these relations take. No single demographic variable, however, is consistently related to all patterns of Negro-white or other intergroup relations.

Data from our national sample of 248 cities show significant differences in intergroup practices between large cities and small towns. Obviously, the mere fact that one city has 100,000 residents and another has 50,000 does not account for these differences. Instead, the size of the city indexes other factors that are related to intergroup practices. Some of these may be:

1. *Patterns of interaction between Negroes and whites.* In the smaller towns, Negroes and whites come into contact with each other because of the limited number of employment opportunities or recreation facilities and the proximity of their homes. Isolation depends upon a large city area and a Negro population of sufficient size to be in some respects self-supporting.

2. *The tradition of the large American city.* With the exception of a few agrarian protest movements, the smaller towns in the United States have been traditionally more conservative than the larger cities. Changes, even in intergroup relations, seem more readily proposed and accepted in the larger cities than in the smaller towns. On the other hand, our data show that overt interracial conflict tends to be a big-city phenomenon.

3. *Differences in residents of big cities and small towns.* Although the migration of rural people to the urban centers continues, not everyone migrates. Those who derive satisfactions from living in the larger cities possibly may be psychologically different from those who prefer to live in the small towns. These hypothetical differences might account in part for different outcomes of interracial contact.

4. *Regulation of personal behavior.* In the smaller towns, an individual is likely to be known to a large proportion of the residents; in the larger cities, this is impossible. The effects of being known or being somewhat anonymous may influence behavior in interracial situations.

A crucial aspect of Negro-white relations affecting the basic meaning of population size is residential segregation. A rigid pattern of residential segregation has its sources in many of the same social conditions that give rise to other forms of discrimination against Negroes. However, once established, residential segregation becomes crucial in determining other kinds of segregation and discrimination. Concentration of Negro housing can be expected to frustrate attempts to integrate the schools for years to come in many communities, even if only because of such factors as the preference of parents for sending their children to schools within walking distance of their homes.

. . . One part of the Cornell Studies consisted of a nationwide survey of intergroup practices in a stratified sample of 250 cities in all parts of mainland United States. The data provide a broad outline of segregation and discrimination in urban centers. The relevance of most of the data reviewed to the questions of main concern in our total program of analysis will be evident. Thus, we shall review the distribution of Negroes and other minorities in cities of the North and South, both large and small. The sheer

Table 1. Distribution of Minority-Group Populations in the Cities of the Nationwide Sample

| | REGION | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| | NORTH | | | SOUTH* | | |
| | CITY SIZE | | | CITY SIZE | | |
| | OVER 100,000 | 25,000- 100,000 | UNDER 25,000 | OVER 100,000 | 25,000- 100,000 | UNDER 25,000 |
| (71)† | (82) | (36) | | (28) | (21) | (10) |
| Proportion foreign born in the popu- lation | | | | | | |
| under 1% | 1% | 4% | 6% | 53% | 75% | 80% |
| 1-4.9% | 13 | 25 | 14 | 21 | 10 | 10 |
| 5-9.9% | 30 | 23 | 30 | 14 | 10 | 0 |
| 10-14.9% | 28 | 16 | 28 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 15-17.9% | 17 | 16 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 18% or more | 11 | 11 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| no information | 0 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 10 |
| Negro population | | | | | | |
| under 100 | 0% | 16% | 45% | 0% | 5% | 0% |
| 100-499 | 4 | 16 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 500-1,499 | 6 | 29 | 11 | 0 | 5 | 30 |
| 1,500-4,999 | 15 | 26 | 11 | 4 | 24 | 50 |
| 5,000-14,999 | 34 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 42 | 10 |
| 15,000 and more | 41 | 2 | 0 | 92 | 24 | 0 |
| no information | 0 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 10 |

| RELIGION | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| NORTH | | | SOUTH* | | | |
| CITY SIZE | | | CITY SIZE | | | |
| OVER 100,000 | 25,000- 100,000 | UNDER 25,000 | OVER 100,000 | 25,000- 100,000 | UNDER 25,000 | |
| (71)† | (82) | (36) | (28) | (21) | (10) | |

Proportion Negroes

in the population

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|
| less than 1% | 13% | 35% | 44% | 0% | 5% | 0% |
| 1-4% | 35 | 33 | 31 | 4 | 10 | 10 |
| 5-9% | 25 | 17 | 6 | 11 | 14 | 20 |
| 10-19% | 24 | 6 | 11 | 21 | 14 | 20 |
| 20% or more | 3 | 4 | 0 | 60 | 57 | 40 |
| no information | 0 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 10 |

Jewish population

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|
| under 100 | 1% | 17% | 45% | 0% | 14% | 80% |
| 100-499 | 0 | 33 | 36 | 0 | 47 | 10 |
| 500-1,499 | 8 | 27 | 8 | 14 | 29 | 0 |
| 1,500-4,999 | 23 | 13 | 0 | 39 | 10 | 0 |
| 5,000-14,999 | 33 | 5 | 3 | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| 15,000 and more | 31 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| no information | 4 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 10 |

Proportion Jews

in the population

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|----|----|----|----|----|
| under 1% | 10% | 47 | 51 | 18 | 62 | 90 |
| 1-1.9% | 15 | 24 | 22 | 39 | 28 | 0 |
| 2-4.9% | 39 | 15 | 11 | 29 | 10 | 0 |
| 5% or more | 34 | 9 | 8 | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| no information | 2 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 10 |

* The Southern cities are in these states: Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and the District of Columbia. "North" includes all other cities.

† Number of cities. The total percentage for each column of each of the five items equals 100 per cent.

population distributions affect a great many aspects of intergroup relations. For example, intergroup contact opportunities are limited by both the physical size of the minority groups and the limited number of activities in which most individuals have the time and capacity to take part. In a community with only small percentages of minority groups, majority-group members are very unlikely to have many random opportunities for contact with minority-group members. This situation, of course, does not hold for minority-group members, although such opportunities often will be of a restricted type.

In both absolute numbers and relative proportions, Negroes are concentrated in the larger cities of both the North and the South. (See Table 1) However, Southern cities in each size class have larger Negro communities and a higher ratio of Negroes to whites than do Northern cities. In twenty-four cities in this sample, usually either small Northern towns or suburban areas, there are no Negroes. Jews are absolutely and relatively more important in the larger cities; they are entirely absent from only six cities. There is a higher proportion of foreign-born in the Northern cities. The foreign-born of the South are concentrated in the larger cities; in the North they are fairly evenly distributed in cities of all sizes.

PROPORTION OF MINORITY GROUP IN THE POPULATION

Many social scientists have thought the proportion of a minority to a majority in a population important in influencing intergroup relations. In our nationwide sample, half of the Southern cities had over 20 per cent Negro populations. Half of the Northern cities had less than 5 per cent Negro populations. Of the Northern cities, only Chester, Pennsylvania; Gary, Indiana; and East St. Louis, Illinois, had as high as 20 per cent. How does the proportion of Negroes relate to discrimination, segregation, and conflict?

The likelihood that Negroes will be segregated is greater in those cities where the proportion of Negroes is higher: in schools, playgrounds, hospitals, and public clinics. (See Table 2) This is true for cities of all sizes of both the North and the South.

Cities with a high proportion of Negroes are more likely to have discrimination in the use of barbershops, hotels, restaurants, movies, and buses. Also, occupational discrimination against both Negroes and Jews appears to be positively related to the proportion of the respective minority groups in the population.

Some kinds of overt conflict between Negroes and whites are characteristically reported by the cities, North and South and large

*Table 2. Relationship of Segregation of Northern Playgrounds and Proportion of Negro Population**

| | PROPORTION NEGRO | |
|---------------|---|--------------------|
| | LESS THAN 5 PER CENT | 5 PER CENT OR MORE |
| | (PER CENT OF CITIES WITH SEGREGATED INSTITUTIONS) | |
| Grade schools | 3% (106) | 18% (65) |
| High schools | 2% (106) | 8% (65) |
| Playgrounds | 5% (106) | 25% (65) |

* This relationship is unchanged when the size of the city is controlled. All Southern schools were at this time segregated by law.

or small, with a high proportion of Negroes: street fights between Negro and white youths and instances of police brutality toward Negroes. The relation does not hold, or is present only in modified form in the instances of burnings of crosses, vandalism, and objectionable newspaper reporting concerning Negroes.

Official Segregation

Segregation involves a process of differentiation and distinction. As a result of natural and social selection operating through free competition and conflict an individual or group in time acquires a habitat, a function in the division of labor, and a position in the social order. By such characteristics individuals or groups are distinguished and set apart. Physical separation of groups with different characteristics—whether accomplished by force, or through sanctions imposed by another group, or by the for-

mation of a self-contained defensive aggregation for protection against unfamiliar ideas and customs, or from escape from ostracism and persecution—achieves the same purpose, that of isolation of one group from the other.¹

When the Supreme Court ruled in 1896 in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* that provision of separate but equal facilities for Negroes in public transportation vehicles did not violate the "equal rights" amendment of the Constitution, the way was clear for segregating Negroes on playgrounds, in schools, and in hospitals.² Although city ordinances restricting Negroes' area of residence have been declared unconstitutional, group pressure by whites upon members of their own race, including restrictive covenants, have also limited Negroes' choice of residence. Segregation in many communities in the early 1950's extended from the hospital nursery to the cemetery.

PLAYGROUNDS AND SCHOOLS

As of 1954, all of the Southern states had laws requiring separate schools for Negroes and for whites; and many Northern cities had segregated schools. The Negro schools seldom had equal building and teaching facilities, budgets, or staff, and, consequently, the education was frequently inferior. Somewhat fewer than one-third of all the elementary schools, secondary schools, and playgrounds in cities in the nation-wide sample were both segregated and judged inferior to those provided for white children, according to the standards of well-informed local people.

Approximately 5 per cent of the educational and recreational facilities were segregated but locally judged to be as good as those available for white children. Sixty-six per cent of the cities permitted

¹ Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1943), p. xvii.

² Mangum, C. S., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940). For a discussion of race distinctions with reference to education just prior to the Supreme Court decision in the *Brown* case see R. A. Leflar and W. H. Davis, "Segregation in the Public Schools—," *Harvard Law Review*, LXVII, No. 3 (January, 1954), esp. 420.

some Negro and white children to use the same playgrounds; in 67 per cent of the cities, some children of both races attended at least some of the same grade schools; and in 72 per cent of the cities, there was some integration of high schools. In most instances, only some of the schools represented any substantial intermingling of white and Negro pupils.

About one-fifth of the cities in the nation-wide sample mentioned education as their most controversial intergroup relations problem. In only 1 per cent of the Northern cities, but in 48 per cent of the Southern cities education was reported as an intergroup relations issue. (The size of the city does not alter this relationship.)

The size of a city was not significantly related to the presence or absence of segregated school buildings or recreational facilities. In the Northern states there was a slight tendency for the larger cities to maintain segregated school systems—a consequence, in large part, of residential concentration of Negroes. In general, though, all schools and playgrounds in the Southern states were segregated, and there was much community concern about the problem. In the Northern states, schools and playgrounds were less often segregated, and concern among white people was low, as of the early 1950's.

HOSPITALS

In a great many cities, hospitals either were segregated or hospitals for Negroes were completely lacking. Like the schools, many hospitals were supported by taxes, wholly or in part, and were considered to be public service institutions. The medical profession officially espouses a code of ethics that does not seem to support racial discrimination. Yet, 28 per cent of the cities' hospitals were segregated; in 19 per cent, the segregated facilities for Negroes were judged inferior to the hospital facilities provided for whites.

Southern cities more often maintained separate medical facilities for Negroes than Northern cities: 93 per cent of the large Southern cities report segregated hospitals and clinics, whereas 13 per cent of the larger Northern cities had segregated medical facilities. Seventy-five per cent of the smaller Southern towns had

segregated hospitals compared to 14 per cent in the smaller Northern towns. Undoubtedly, smaller towns have greater difficulty in bearing the costs of separate medical installations for Negroes. Without the sanctions of state legislation that enforce segregation in the schools, and without the direct "transfer" of behavior as from the schools to the playgrounds, some small Southern towns did have common hospital facilities. Almost all of the large Southern cities had segregated medical facilities. In the North, where it is the usual practice to have integrated rather than segregated hospitals, economic resources are not so important in determining the pattern of segregation.³

FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Social scientists have often noted the remarkable proliferation of formal organizations in American communities. There are civic, social, business and professional clubs attracting different kinds of people in support of a wide range of goals. Our data from the nationwide sample support the observation that communities in the United States are indeed "organized." Almost every city has local chapters of all the national organizations for which we sought information. Only the YWCA is absent from as many as 10 per cent of the communities. Table 3 shows that some national organizations accept Negroes as members, some make no provisions for Negroes to belong, and others segregate them.

Like segregation in hospitals or schools, the pattern of segregation in formal organizations differed in cities of different size and in the North and South. These differences are of interest.

³ Of course, in many of the officially nonsegregated Northern hospitals the actual day-to-day activities are substantially affected by ethnic factors. See for example: David N. Solomon, "Ethnic and Class Differences among Hospitals as Contingencies in Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI, No. 5 (March, 1961), 463-71. This study's main conclusion, on p. 469, is that: "The social system of medicine in Chicago—and, no doubt, in other large urban areas—is not a unified homogeneous whole but, rather, one which reflects the ethnic and class segmentation and stratification of the city. The medical community, like the community as a whole, consists of a set of social worlds which are to a degree separate and discrete."

Table 3. Integration and Segregation in National Organizations

| ORGANIZATIONS | INTE- GRATED | NO PRO- VISIONS FOR NEGROES | SEGRE- GATED | NO ORGANI- ZATION | ANSWER/ DON'T KNOW |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Masons | 2% | 12 | 79 | 0 | 7 |
| Rotary | 4 | 80 | 1 | 2 | 13 |
| American Legion | 19 | 8 | 64 | 1 | 8 |
| Chamber of Commerce | 27 | 46 | 9 | 1 | 17 |
| YMCA | 42 | 13 | 28 | 9 | 8 |
| YWCA | 48 | 10 | 24 | 10 | 8 |
| Community Chest | 64 | 18 | 6 | 4 | 8 |
| Local Council of Churches | 73 | 10 | 7 | 2 | 8 |

Separate Organizations. In 79 per cent of the cities, Negroes belonged to segregated Masonic lodges. In almost all the larger Northern cities, separate Masonic lodges had been established for Negroes. The smaller the city in the North, the less tendency to make provision for Negroes in the Masons. In the South, both the large cities and small towns reported separate Negro Masonic lodges.

The American Legion was second only to the Masons in having segregated organizations for Negroes. Seventy-eight per cent of the posts in Northern cities over 100,000 were segregated but about 20 per cent were integrated. The smaller the towns in the North, the fewer reported segregated posts. Instead, either Negroes were accepted into existing posts or no provisions were made for them. But again the Southern cities of all sizes usually maintained separate posts for Negroes. All Legion posts in the larger Southern cities were segregated. Eighty-two per cent of the Southern cities under 100,000 had separate posts. One Southern city under 100,000 reported no provisions for Negroes, and two had integrated posts.

No Provisions for Negroes. In 82 per cent of all Northern cities and 75 per cent of all Southern cities, the Rotary clubs neither permitted Negroes nor had established segregated clubs. There was little difference between the practices of Rotary clubs in the larger cities and small towns of either region.

The Chambers of Commerce also tended to exclude Negroes and to make no separate provision for them. Forty-two per cent of the Northern cities over 100,000 made no provisions for Negroes to belong to the Chamber of Commerce. A slightly higher percentage of smaller Northern towns excluded Negroes or failed to set up separate organizations for them. However, those Northern cities in which Negroes are permitted in the Chamber of Commerce tend to have common organizations for Negroes and whites. In the South, the pattern was somewhat different. There, too, many cities reported no provision for Negroes to belong to the Chamber of Commerce, and a few reported integrated organizations. But most Southern cities either made no provision for Negroes or reported separate Chambers of Commerce for Negro businessmen.

Integrated Organizations. Most of the local Councils of Churches were made up of both Negro and white ministers. But again regional differences were important. Most Northern cities, especially the larger ones, reported integrated Councils of Churches. But less than 4 out of 10 of the Southern councils were integrated. The larger Southern cities were more likely than the smaller towns to establish separate councils for Negro ministers; the smaller places more often reported no provisions for Negroes.

The YMCA and the YWCA represented hybrid forms of segregation, tending to be integrated in the North and to have separate organizations for Negroes in the South. The YWCA's were more often integrated than the YMCA's in both regions.

A similar pattern appears again in the case of the Community Chest or United Fund. Most Northern cities have integrated Community Chest directorates, but some smaller Northern towns have no provisions for taking Negroes into the drives to collect funds. About half of the Southern cities report integrated organizations, but 29 per cent of the Southern cities with populations over 100,000

established separate organizations and 21 per cent of the Southern towns under 100,000 made no provisions for Negro participation.

Let us summarize this picture, as of the early 1950's, of segregation in formal organizations. First, those organizations that appear to have a nationwide practice of segregation (Masons, American Legion) provide segregated chapters for Negroes in the larger cities of the North and South. The smaller towns of the South follow the regional folkway of separate but equal and provide Masonic lodges and Legion posts for Negroes. Lacking this tradition, the smaller towns of the North, with their smaller Negro communities, make no provisions for Negroes to belong to these organizations.

Second, if an organization maintains a practice of excluding Negroes and not encouraging the establishment of separate clubs, there simply is no provision for Negroes in any city of either region. If this practice is less rigidly enforced, as by the Chamber of Commerce, Negroes in the North tend to be taken into integrated organizations, and Negroes in the South establish separate chapters.

Finally, those religious and civic organizations that make a universal appeal to common motives of all people in all communities present a dilemma for some Southern cities. Northern cities report that Community Chest drives and ministerial groups are integrated, but in the South joint participation is not accepted in about half the cities. The larger Southern cities report the presence of separate organizations for Negroes, but in the smaller Southern towns no provisions are made for Negroes to participate. Except for these philanthropic organizations, there are usually separate organizations for Negroes in clubs or lodges in small Southern towns.

Discrimination

Segregation is one kind of discrimination. There are many other kinds that do not necessarily involve the provision of separate facilities. These are acts of selective and differential behavior which

violate important institutional standards that usually are obligatory in certain areas of conduct.

Although discrimination against a minority group is more often the overt expression of prejudice, discrimination can exist without prejudice. Some discriminatory practices reflect a policy decision protecting the interests of the majority group. Some represent adherence, through the forces of group conformity, to fragments of the cultural heritage. A hotel manager may turn away Negro customers because other hotel managers turn them away. As we have said before, he may feel that his white customers would object, although they have no strong feelings one way or the other.

DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT⁴

Eighty-one per cent of the cities report that there is discrimination against qualified Negroes in the form of failure to promote them to more skilled industrial jobs. Of these cities, 67 per cent report instances within the last year. This particular kind of discrimination in employment occurred much more frequently in the larger cities than in the smaller towns. While discrimination was reported more often in all Southern cities than in Northern cities, the differences were small. In about 20 per cent of the cities it is reported that Jewish doctors are denied full privileges at the local hospitals. More of these cities are in the North than in the South. They are also the larger cities of both regions. Both Jewish doctors and qualified Negro industrial workers are more often discriminated against in the larger cities. Jews, however, are singled out for discriminatory treatment in the Northern cities, whereas Negroes are penalized in the Southern cities.

Employment is considered to be the most controversial inter-group relations problem in 45 per cent of the communities, and is so ranked more often in larger cities than in the smaller towns.

⁴ We are not here concerned with defining or analyzing the economic aspects of discrimination. For an impression of the complexity of these problems see Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

Concern about employing Negroes is greatest in the largest Northern cities and least in the smallest Southern towns.

DISCRIMINATION IN USE OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

Discrimination against Negroes varies from community to community, from institution to institution within the same community and from individual to individual in the same institutional setting. In one West Virginia city, Negroes' use of the same public rest-rooms as whites is a controversial issue. Across the river in an Ohio city, Negroes' use of public rest-rooms is accepted. But in this

Table 4. Acceptability of Negroes' Using Public Facilities

| CAN NEGROES: | TAKEN FOR GRANTED AS NOT ACCEPTABLE | | CONTRO- VERSIAL | TAKEN FOR GRANTED AS ACCEPTABLE | NO ANSWER/ DON'T KNOW |
|--|--|----|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 2% | 9% | | | |
| Try on dresses in white department store? | 2% | 9% | | 88% | 1% |
| Sit in the same part of buses as whites? | 16 | 4 | | 79 | 1 |
| Use the same public rest-rooms as whites? | 17 | 6 | | 76 | 1 |
| Sit among whites in movies? | 26 | 6 | | 67 | 1 |
| Have beds in hospitals side by side with whites? | 29 | 18 | | 52 | 1 |
| Use same swimming pools with whites? | 30 | 22 | | 45 | 3 |
| Be served in white restaurants? | 30 | 30 | | 39 | 1 |
| Belong to white Protestant churches? | 38 | 31 | | 30 | 1 |
| Stay in white hotels? | 39 | 34 | | 25 | 2 |
| Use white barbershops? | 68 | 22 | | 8 | 2 |

Ohio city Negroes cannot generally stay in white hotels. Marian Anderson was not permitted to stay at one of the better hotels there. (Yet, when a Negro social scientist from Cornell asked for a room in this same hotel, it was given to him without question.)

Table 4 shows the variability that exists in what is considered to be appropriate behavior for Negroes in different localities, from the high percentage of cities where it is acceptable for Negro women to try on dresses in white department stores to the low percentage of cities where Negro men can get haircuts in white barbershops. There is a remarkably orderly ranking of discrimination. Some behaviors are more often tabooed for Negroes than other. There is a single rank-order of acceptability of practices.

In some cases, Negroes' freedom of action is well defined. For instance, in 79 per cent of the cities Negroes can sit in the same part of buses as whites, and in 16 per cent this is not acceptable. Only in 4 per cent of the cities is this controversial. In other cases the situation is poorly defined. Twenty-five per cent of the cities report that Negroes can stay in white hotels; in 38 per cent of the cities this is not acceptable; and in 34 per cent this is a controversial issue. This means that Negroes are likely to encounter conflict; they cannot generalize from one hotel to another.

Despite this tremendous variability, discrimination definitely is patterned. Both Myrdal and Johnson earlier spoke of a "rank-order of discrimination."⁵ This means that different kinds of behaviors by Negroes can be arranged along a continuum of more acceptable and less acceptable. Table 4 shows this. It also shows that cities can be ranked in a clear unidimensional order of their acceptance of Negroes' use of public facilities and institutions.

However, the activities included in this list do not appear to be ordered on the "personal intimacy" continuum that Myrdal and many others have suggested. It is difficult to see why Negroes' being served in a white restaurant should be more intimate than their

⁵ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944), pp. 60-67, 587-88; Charles S. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-155, 173-85.

using the same rest-room as whites. No single one of several possible factors—intimacy, public character, potential economic gain to whites, recency of the institutions' establishment, importance of the service or facility (barbershops and churches) and so on—seems to explain the order of the items.

Thus we have several important and puzzling facts: there is great variability in the acceptability of the practices and in the consensus upon acceptability; there is a strikingly clear unidimensional order among the practices; but, there is no obviously plausible basis for the ordering. Could the clue lie either in size of the city or region of the country?

While acceptance of Negroes in public facilities is definitely patterned for the sample of the cities as a whole, Northern cities differ from Southern cities and large cities differ from small towns in the areas of freedom extended to Negroes.

With very few exceptions, Negroes in Northern cities of all sizes can try on dresses in department stores, sit in the same part of buses as whites, use the same public rest-rooms as whites, and sit among whites in movie houses. They are often excluded from swimming pools, restaurants, churches, hotels, and barbershops. In the smaller towns more often than in the larger cities, they are forbidden use of public facilities and institutions. However, more large Northern cities consider Negroes' use of these facilities to be controversial than do the smaller towns. Therefore, with the exception of Negroes' staying in white hotels, unqualified acceptance of Negroes is greater in the small towns of the North than the larger cities.

In the South, Negroes' use of most public facilities is clearly unacceptable, and in many cases their use of the facilities is not even controversial.⁶ It is difficult to say in most cases whether

⁶ It must be remembered again that these data antedated the controversies over public transportation in the South that have followed the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955. It has not been very long since "Freedom Riders" was an unknown expression. But the stirrings of change were there long before the incidents in Montgomery, Little Rock, Jackson, or New Orleans.

Negroes are given more freedom to use public facilities in the larger cities of the South or in the small towns. More small towns report that Negroes can sit among whites on the buses and can use the same rest-room facilities. While Negroes' use of white barbershops, white hotels, and swimming pools is forbidden in almost all Southern towns, these were at least controversial issues, rather than unthinkable innovations, in the smaller towns.

The detailed breakdown of the data by region and size of city does not destroy the rank-ordering: on the whole, the same general ranking prevails in both North and South, and in both small and large cities within each region. The regional difference is overwhelmingly important, far outweighing city size.

We might suspect that the ordering of practices could merely reflect the sheer availability of facilities and service within a highly segregated residential pattern. That is, if a city contains a Negro ghetto that is large enough to have many of the facilities in question, those that are available to both groups on a neighborhood basis would be most likely to rank as "not acceptable" to the whites. This possibility, however, does not seem to constitute a good explanation. In the highly segregated large Northern cities, there are only a few cases of cities having general exclusion of Negroes from restaurants and hotels, both of which are available on a neighborhood basis. It is true, however, that the facilities and services that are most likely to be available on a desegregated basis are those likely to be found in central districts of cities and to involve relatively transitory and impersonal situations—department stores, buses, rest-rooms, movies. General location and casual, transitory character, however, are rather weak factors in comparison with regional culture and city size.

The particular character of the facility or service is possibly significant in two cases. The first is that of the white Protestant church, which in the South clearly is a deviant in the rank-order. The anomaly of segregation in a religious institution having certain traditions and beliefs concerning brotherhood and the spiritual worth of individuals undoubtedly is partly responsible for the

frequency of controversial situations. The other somewhat special case concerns barbershops, in which there appears to be a most complicated set of special factors including technical skills, the peculiar characteristics of proprietorship and unionization, the historical background (the processes by which Negro barbers were forced out in the South), and the quasi-recreational or social-club qualities of some neighborhood establishments.

In sum, it appears that the ordering of discriminatory and segregative practices derives to a large extent from functionally arbitrary historical circumstances. The practices are not sheerly whimsical or without cause; but the position of any one practice seems to be a function of many particular causes set in the context of a pervasive institutional pattern. In the South, for example, there is a generalized inclination to segregate and discriminate in nearly all areas of life. This institutionalized commitment tends to spread to a great variety of practices and settings—Oklahoma at one time had a state law requiring separate telephone booths for use of whites and Negroes. A variety of factors, suggested in our own discussion here, come to bear in different combinations upon various situations at different times. Variations in segregation and discrimination have not been neatly laid out on the basis of a single set of clear principles.

Although we can do no more than suggest a range of factors that help us to understand the "Negro Acceptability Scale," the fact that some discriminatory behaviors are so definitely ordered, without any obvious single base (intimacy, threat, competition, etc.), may have rather far-reaching implications. Persons who assume that discriminatory behaviors are random or capricious, all equally amenable to change if only the proper strategy is found, may find resistance to change especially great in some areas of Negro-white relations. On the other hand, the lack of any clear indication that the ordering of the discriminatory practices rests on a single set of strong interests (economic gain, or power, or status, etc.) suggests that item-by-item change may be possible without the necessity for a major transformation of all prejudices simultaneously or of the total distribution of power, wealth, and prestige.

The validity of the latter point is indicated by our data concerning many discriminatory behaviors and types of segregation in which neither a generalized culture pattern nor generalized prejudices seem to be as important in determining behavior as arbitrary circumstances such as an organization's policies regulating the admission of Negroes or the personal wishes of some strategic gate-keeper. In some cities the Chambers of Commerce were segregated whereas American Legion posts were integrated; in other cities the pattern was reversed. Where the norms of interracial behavior in some segmental environment were either unclearly stated or explicit in conflict with prevailing community sentiments regarding appropriate interracial behavior, patterns of Negro-white relations tended to vary from community practices.

The data concern specific cities. It is evident from the North-South differences, however, that cities are part of larger systems and that states as legislative units are most important in the field of race relations. Indeed, there is a wealth of evidence, available to any alert newspaper reader, of the decisive importance of political policies, legal actions, and political and administrative leadership at the state level. All subordinate political subdivisions such as counties and cities may be affected by a statewide policy or movement. This conclusion has been verified by the experience of investigators who have sought to establish predictive correlations between demographic factors, on the one hand, and the rate of public school desegregation on the other. As Pettigrew and Cramer have summarized this experience:

One of the first findings was that each state had to be analyzed separately. Apparently, the political leadership of the various states differs so widely in respect to race relations that county-by-county predictions across states is impossible. Further, the demographic characteristics of the southern states vary sharply.⁷

⁷ Thomas F. Pettigrew and M. Richard Cramer, "The Demography of Desegregation," *Journal of Social Issues*, XV, No. 4 (1959), 65. This study found, nevertheless, that ". . . it is the poor, traditional, rural areas with large percentages of uneducated Negroes that form the core of racial conflict [concerning school desegregation]" (p. 70).

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

The most ubiquitous condition reported in the national survey is that discrimination resulting in residential segregation of Negroes is typical of most American cities. The pattern of residential segregation tends to produce or perpetuate segregation in other areas of community life and sets the prevailing tone of Negro-white relations.

In over half of the cities (56 per cent), Negroes are living in either one or a few residential areas.

*Table 5. Residential Segregation of Negroes**

| NEGROES ARE NOW ALLOWED TO ESTABLISH RESIDENCE IN: | |
|--|-------|
| Only one area of the city | 5% |
| Only a few areas | 51% |
| Most areas | 30% |
| All areas | 11% |
| No answer/don't know | 3% |
| Total number of cities | (221) |

* This sample was stratified in such a way that the larger cities are overrepresented. The sample is somewhat biased in favor of the large Northern cities.

In only 11 per cent of the cities are they living in all possible areas of residence. Even in these latter cities Negroes usually are not free to live where they choose. Pockets of Negro dwellings can be scattered throughout a city, yet any expansion into new residential areas might be resisted. Of the 93 cities stating that Negroes live in all or most areas, 55 reported that within the last year an attempt had been made to prevent a Negro from moving into a predominantly white district. In private housing, then, Negroes are rather rigidly segregated.⁸

⁸ It is enough for present purposes to use these carefully checked estimates of residential segregation. The actual measurement of areal segregation in American cities (from published Census data and other official sources) is a large and difficult task in itself. For some of the difficulties, see Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review*, XX, No. 2 (April, 1955), 210-17.

The situation is similar in public housing. Negroes are completely excluded from public housing in 15 per cent of the 170 cities having projects. In nearly half (47 per cent) of those 145 cities that permit them to live in public-housing facilities, Negroes live in separate projects. Seventy-seven cities have mixed projects, but in 38 per cent of these, Negroes live in separate buildings. Thus, Negroes are given the same opportunities as whites in only 33 per cent of the cities permitting Negroes in public-housing projects or 27 per cent of all those having projects.

There is evidence that residential segregation has increased in recent years in many cities. By 1950, 90 per cent of Chicago's 337,000 Negroes lived in a predominantly Negro area. This had not always been the case.

In 1910 there were no communities in which Negroes were over 61 percent of the population. More than two-thirds of the Negroes lived in areas less than 50 percent Negro, and a third lived in areas less than 10 percent Negro. By 1920, 87 percent of the Negroes lived in areas over half Negro in composition. A decade later 90 percent were in districts of 50 percent or more Negro concentration. Almost two-thirds (63.0 percent) lived where the concentration was from 90 to 99 percent Negro.⁹

Now in about half (45 per cent) of the cities in the nationwide sample, housing is considered to be the community's most controversial intergroup relations problem. Sixty-one per cent of the cities reported that an attempt had been made to bar a Negro from a white residential area within the last year. This had occurred in an additional 22 per cent of the cities in the last ten years. Less than one-fifth of the cities (17 per cent) had avoided an interracial housing incident.

Thus, we know that segregation in private and public housing is the rule in American cities, and that housing is an explosive intergroup relations issue.

Actual *de facto* segregation of Negroes into highly constricted areas is a characteristic of the larger Northern cities, often to a degree greater than in Southern cities. Although there is no South-

⁹ St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1945), p. 176.

ern city as large as Chicago, it is nevertheless impressive to note that Chicago may well be the most highly segregated city in the United States. In 1950, 84.1 per cent of the white population of the city lived in census tracts containing less than one per cent Negroes, and 52.9 per cent of the Negroes lived in census tracts in which 97.5 per cent or more of the population were Negro.¹⁰

Size of the Negro Community. Residential segregation might be expected to increase directly with the absolute number of Negroes in a city. However, the relationship between the size of the Negro community and the extent of residential segregation is not simple. In the North, Negroes are more likely to be living in most areas of a city in those cities where they are either few or great in numbers. This may also be true for the Southern cities; however, there are too few cases to state this conclusively. Perhaps the presence of a few Negroes is not perceived by whites as a threat; thus, initially, residential segregation is not rigidly enforced. With an increase in numbers, Negroes' residences are more likely to be concentrated. Beyond a certain point, however, Negroes cannot be contained. Their numbers alone make it necessary to spread out into other areas of residence.

In summary, residential segregation of Negroes within a city is related to its size, the region in which it is located, the proportion of Negroes in its population, and their absolute numbers. Although the associations are not highly predictive, the data do give some important clues as to the kinds of cities that are most likely to be segregated. There is a greater likelihood that Negroes living in large Southern cities having a low proportion of Negroes and a Negro population of from 500 to 5,000 will live in a restricted residential area. Negroes living in small, Northern towns with a low proportion of Negroes and a small Negro population would more often be scattered throughout the residential areas.

Detailed cross tabulations show that residential segregation is closely associated with segregation in all other areas of community

¹⁰ See: Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

life.¹¹ Where Negroes are concentrated in a few residential areas, one is more likely to find segregated schools, public-housing projects, hospitals, and social organizations. There, also, Negroes' use of public accommodations is a more controversial intergroup relations issue. Residential segregation obviously reduces the neighbor-to-neighbor contacts between Negroes and whites, and participation of Negroes and whites in the many activities dependent upon proximity is rendered impossible. Concentration of Negroes in a few areas makes it possible to construct schools or hospitals for Negroes only. In time, whites come to expect that Negroes should have a separate community life of their own. Integration ceases to be thought of as a real possibility.

In cities with a long tradition of segregation, Negroes sometimes had come to resign themselves to segregation and tended to work to get the best segregated facilities possible for their own use. Thus, the presence of a segregated YMCA building may also index the Negroes' attempt to provide some recreational outlet for their youth.

Each race develops its own closed system of interaction, and frequently feelings of hostility develop toward the outgroup. Thus, residential segregation goes along with a high incidence of interracial conflict—contrary to what many people have argued. Although this association partly reflects the fact that segregation is greatest in the South, where conflict is also most likely for other reasons, even in the North incidents of Negro-white conflict¹² are

¹¹ Cf. Don J. Hager, "Housing Discrimination, Social Conflict, and the Law," *Social Problem*, VIII, No. 1 (Summer, 1960), 80–87.

¹² For example, police brutality, vandalism, anti-Negro newspaper reporting, burning-cross incidents. We may note in this connection Grimshaw's observation in "Urban Racial Violence in the United States: Changing Ecological Considerations," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI, No. 2 (September, 1960), 112. "Violence in time of major race riots has been concentrated in Negro slums, which in many cities were served largely by white businesses. Casualties and fatalities occurred most often in slums or along their fringes, and destruction of property, particularly looting, was greatest there." And again: "In the riot in East St. Louis in 1917, the Negro section was invaded, Negro residences and businesses were set on fire, and Negroes were shot down in large numbers as they attempted to flee from the burning buildings."

most likely in the cities with the tighter patterns of residential segregation.

Conflict and Protest

Within each region, Negro-white relations are more often tense in larger cities than in the smaller towns. In larger cities, too, intergroup relations organizations are more active. Especially in larger Northern cities, protest organizations seem better able to achieve their goals. Although these generalizations stand as statistical tendencies, there are exceptions. Some kinds of conflict and discrimination are reported more often in Northern than in Southern cities or in small towns than in big cities. There are differences between cities of the same region and size. And there are marked internal variations within each city of any considerable size. The variations form regularized patterns—even in the disorder of violent intergroup conflict. For example, the incidence and type of violence varies with the characteristics of the ecological areas of the city. Little violence occurs in the Negro residential areas without business establishments. These are the middle- and upper-class residential areas, which do not offer extensive opportunity for looting and which typically have the better police protection. These areas also are far removed from those in which violence typically starts. The middle- and upper-class white residential areas also are relatively free from violence, except for raids by automobile on Negro domestics going to and from work.¹⁸

In the cities surveyed, although segregation, discrimination, and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 109–10. This study notes on p. 109: "Urban racial social violence has occurred in every geographic region of the United States. It has not occurred in every city in every area. Certain similarities in its background and social context are found in the cities which have had major race riots. East St. Louis, Washington, Chicago, Tulsa, and Detroit all had sharp increases in Negro population in the years immediately prior to major interracial disturbance, and there were accompanying strains in the accommodative structure, generated in part by the Negroes' assaults on it and in part by the sheer pressure of population on facilities."

conflict were quite common, there were signs of change. The more violent forms of conflict were less prevalent, and the more obvious forms of segregation in public facilities have largely disappeared from many Northern cities. But other forms of social and economic discrimination are still common. The data suggest strongly that Negroes react most militantly to segregation and discrimination in

Table 6. Per Cent of Cities with Organizations Fighting Local Discrimination Cases Within Last Ten Years

| ORGANIZATIONS | REGION | | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| | CITY SIZE | | CITY SIZE | |
| | NORTH | | SOUTH | |
| | 100,000 AND OVER | UNDER 100,000 | 100,000 AND OVER | UNDER 100,000 |
| NAACP | 93% | 51% | 100% | 65% |
| Urban League | 56 | 9 | 57 | 3 |
| B'nai B'rith or Anti-Defamation League | 86 | 43 | 68 | 19 |
| A State Commission Against Discrimination | 54 | 18 | 0 | 3 |
| Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission | 56 | 21 | 25 | 3 |
| Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) | 72 | 23 | 68 | 23 |
| American Federation of Labor (AFL) | 43 | 5 | 36 | 6 |
| Other | 79 | 41 | 54 | 23 |
| None or none listed | 1 | 27 | 0 | 29 |
| Total number of cities | (71) | (118) | (28) | (31) |

cities where some gains have been made in abolishing discrimination. A Negro community sensitive to discrimination, led by an aspiring Negro middle class, and realistically hopeful for more equal treatment tends to support militant organizations. Without presenting the large amount of evidence for this conclusion, we may

illustrate the point by noting the large amount of protest activity in the larger Northern cities, at the time of our survey. See Table 6, which shows that the various organizations that fight discrimination are most often found in the large cities, especially in the North.

The distribution of incidents of overt conflict of whites and Negroes is somewhat different from the distribution of active organizational efforts to fight discrimination. Such evidences of conflict as vandalism against Negro property, anti-Negro newspaper reporting, and police brutality toward Negroes¹⁴ occur more frequently in the South and in the larger cities of both regions. Vandalism against Jewish property and derogatory statements against the group are also more likely to be big city phenomena, but it is the Northern cities more often than the Southern cities that report conflict incidents involving Jews. Street fights between Negroes and whites and conflict over housing also occur more often in the North, most frequently in the larger cities. Burning-cross incidents are more often reported in Southern cities and especially in large Southern cities. The fact that interracial conflict is more likely to occur in the larger cities than in the smaller towns may reflect, among other things, the greater anonymity, the weaker personalized social control, and the stronger feeling of whites that Negroes are getting "out of their place."

There is a particular historical pattern of violence in the South,¹⁵ and there is still a marked tendency for violence of all kinds to be more prevalent in Southern states than in the Northern states. Sixty per cent of the Southern cities in our sample had a per capita aggravated assault rate of over one-tenth, whereas only 12 per cent of the Northern cities had a rate this high.¹⁶

¹⁴ Seventy-one per cent of the large Southern cities reported publicly known instances of police brutality toward Negroes in the year preceding the survey inquiry.

¹⁵ W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 42-70.

¹⁶ *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and Its Possessions* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice), XXIII, No. 2 (1952), Table 38, pp. 98-105.

We have seen that the region in which a city is located, the city's size, and the proportion of Negroes or other minorities are fairly good predictors of patterns of intergroup behavior. Other demographic variables, such as income level, mobility rate, population growth, or unemployment rate have predictive value only in rather special circumstances. Specific examples follow.

Population Growth. Cities having rapid increases in population in the preceding decade were more likely than other cities to report (1) the use of public accommodations as a controversial problem of intergroup relations (North only); (2) discrimination against Negro workers in promotion practices (North only); (3) recent attempts to prevent Negroes from moving into predominantly white residential areas; (4) discrimination in restaurants, hospitals, department stores, and other semipublic facilities; and (5) police brutality toward Negroes.

However, the following are no more likely to occur in cities that have grown rapidly than in those with relatively stable populations.

1. High rating of general level of conflict and tension.
2. Negro-white relations considered to be a crucial problem.
3. Housing and education considered to be crucial problems.
4. Some kinds of conflict: anti-Negro newspaper reporting, street fights between Negro and white youths, vandalism against Negro property, burning crosses to intimidate Negroes.
5. Some kinds of discrimination: Negroes' use of barbershops patronized by whites or of the same sections of movies as whites.

Mobility of Population. Cities with a large proportion of their population made up of people who have recently arrived have been thought to be more susceptible to intergroup conflict. New arrivals have not established community moorings and, therefore, are exempt in part from the informal sanctions that regulate the behavior of those with longer residence. Cities with a highly mobile population are usually either in agricultural areas requiring seasonal workers, or they are manufacturing cities with fluctuating demands for workers. For instance, over 9 per cent of the popula-

tions of Bakersfield, California; Spokane, Washington; and Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1950 lived in a different county the year before.¹⁷ These could be characterized as "boom cities." The migrant workers attracted to them are often the less well educated drawn from the lower-class groups of the rural areas, especially of the South. Many of the rioters of Detroit and some in Los Angeles during World War II belonged to this type of migrant population.

Employment, housing, and the use of public accommodations are more often considered to be controversial intergroup relations problems in Northern cities with larger proportions of mobile people in their populations. For example, 61 per cent of the cities with less mobile populations reported an instance of a qualified Negro industrial worker being denied promotion because of his race within the preceding year, as compared to 76 per cent of the cities with more mobile populations. Negroes' use of semi-public and public facilities was also a more controversial issue or not acceptable in the highly mobile cities.

While a city's proportion of mobile residents is positively related to a wide range of discriminatory practices, it is unrelated to the incidence of overt conflict. Police brutality toward Negroes, interracial street fights, vandalism against Negro property, burning-cross incidents and attempts to bar Negroes from some residential area are as likely to occur in high-mobility as in the low-mobility cities. Negro-white relations were considered no more controversial in one kind of city than the other. There is even a suggestion that Jewish-gentile and Protestant-Catholic relations are more strained in the low-mobility cities. It cannot be assumed that cities having a highly mobile population necessarily have more intergroup conflict in all of its manifold forms.

¹⁷ Compare these cities to those with a small proportion of mobile residents. The latter includes: Bridgeport, Conn., Campbell, O., and Union City, N. J. In 1950 less than 2 per cent of their populations lived in other counties in 1949. No Southern cities had mobility rates this low.

*Proportion of Unemployed and Level of Income.*¹⁸ In periods of mass unemployment, such as the depression years of the 1930's, Negroes typically suffer more than white workers. The services they perform are often expendable. Given the widely shared prejudices against Negroes, white employers facing economic crises usually fire Negroes first and hire them last.

An increase in unemployment perhaps might be especially likely to increase discrimination and/or conflict if the general level of income were low relative to previous levels or to that of other areas. Then Negroes and whites of similar socioeconomic classes would be thrown into direct competition for the few jobs that were available. Employers have been known to capitalize on this racial competition, further increasing the antagonism between the races.

Contrary to expectations based on these considerations, in the nationwide sample a city's level of unemployment or the median income of its population tells us little about its pattern of intergroup relations. (The tables on which these conclusions are based were controlled on the region in which the city is located.) Negro workers are no more likely to be discriminated against in regard to job promotions in cities with a high level of unemployment than in those with a low level. Job discrimination is no more likely in the poor towns than the rich towns. Neither income level nor level of unemployment was related to the incidence of conflict. Like the other demographic variables that have been mentioned, a city's rate of employment or income level is inadequate when used alone as an index of its intergroup relations pattern.

Negro Protest in Tightly Segregated Cities. Another reaction to segregation is to fight to overcome it. Typically, within a given

¹⁸ Of the cities in the nationwide sample, those with the highest proportions of unemployed workers were generally located either in the Northeastern states or in California. National City, Cal., and Providence, R. I., are two cities with 7 per cent or more of their populations unemployed in 1950. Cities bordering the Great Lakes had the lowest level of unemployment. South Bend, Ind., and Wooster, O., had less than one per cent of their populations unemployed. Southern cities generally fell somewhere between these two extremes. However, cities with low income levels are almost always found in the South.

region and city-size class, there are proportionally more organizations working to improve conditions for Negroes in the rigidly segregated cities. These include labor unions and civic improvement associations as well as organizations interested primarily in inter-group relations.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People usually has a larger membership in the highly segregated cities. However, white members are no more likely to join the NAACP in one type of city than the other. Nor are the NAACP's in the segregated cities reported to be any more active than those in the less segregated cities.

Summary. We have found that when Negroes are confined to living in one or a few areas of a city, civic and social organizations are more likely to be segregated, and discrimination and interracial conflict are more serious problems. Denied access to the facilities of the white community, Negroes develop their own professional class and community services. Also, in the rigidly segregated city Negroes are more likely to join protest organizations, and to move toward more militant action.

The more determined efforts on the part of Negroes to reduce discrimination and segregation through organized action tend to occur in the larger cities (but not always—witness Montgomery, Alabama), in the North (again, not always or at all times), and where both the proportion and the absolute size of the Negro population is large. Also, organized protest and defense is more likely in cities characterized by improving conditions, by the presence of a relatively large Negro middle class, and by recent instances of successful group action against discrimination.

The total pattern of the data suggests that militant response to segregation and discrimination are in large part dependent upon a community of Negroes who can realistically hope for better conditions, the leadership of an active Negro middle class, and the widespread conviction that conditions are not as they should be. There is a final factor that is important in determining whether

Negroes react militantly to discrimination. To be an instigation for militant minority group activity, discrimination must be perceived by Negroes and resented by them. This may help to explain the lack of concern about discrimination in some cities where it might appear to an outsider as intolerable, and the high degree of concern with this problem in some cities where conditions are relatively favorable for Negroes.

Summary and Implications

ARE SOUTHERNERS MORE PREJUDICED THAN NORTHERNERS?

• • • •

It is often claimed, in effect, that schools in the South are segregated because Southerners are prejudiced against Negroes and that schools in the North are generally integrated because Northerners are less prejudiced. But Floridians who move to New York may send their children to integrated public schools whereas the children of New Yorkers wintering in Florida often attend segregated schools. Their prejudices do not determine their behavior, since the former may favor and the latter object to segregated schools. What seems to be essential in accounting for discriminatory practices is the individual's acceptance or nonacceptance of the prevailing patterns of behavior toward minority group members.

But let us suppose that Southerners are more prejudiced toward Negroes than Northerners are. Would this, by itself, account for the regional differences in the extent of discrimination? The nationwide data raise serious questions. In many respects large Southern cities resemble large Northern cities more than they do small Southern towns. Almost all of the large cities of both the North and the South reported a recent instance of job discrimination, whereas this occurred in less than half of the smaller towns of the two regions. Furthermore, there are unaccountable local variations in discriminatory practices. In one small town, Negroes cannot participate in high school athletics; seven miles away in another small town, they may do so. Or, one restaurant serves

Negroes, whereas across the street another restaurant excludes them. Are we to assume that these variations reflect only individual prejudices?

INDIVIDUAL PREJUDICES ARE NOT THE EXPLANATION

The nature of change in the patterns of intergroup behavior also conflicts with the notion that individual prejudices completely account for discriminatory practices. If discriminatory behavior is based on personal prejudices, then the only way to change behavior is to eliminate prejudice. This is a slow process. Yet some forms of discrimination are abolished in a relatively short time. In May, 1954 the schools of Washington, D. C., were segregated; in September they were desegregated. The prejudices of Washingtonians were *not* so malleable, but the institutional pattern did change.

The inadequacies of individual prejudices as a means of predicting discriminatory behavior and accounting for changes in practices call for a reorientation in our thinking about these problems. A frame of reference is needed to explain the *variations* in discriminatory behavior as well as the *patterns* and to account for the persistence of some practices as well as the instability of others.

CHANGING AND RESISTANT PATTERNS OF DISCRIMINATION

The kinds of discrimination that occur in American cities are not merely random or capricious. Although an integrated YMCA is sometimes found in a city where social mingling of the races is not considered to be appropriate, in more crucial areas of intergroup contacts the patterned nature of discrimination persists. There is a cultural component in the patterns of discrimination that resists change. The etiquette of race relations in some rural areas of the Deep South has changed little in the last fifty years.

The forms of prejudice and the patterns of discrimination are part of the cultural heritage. A generation ago, Bogardus found that white Americans objected to some nationality groups more than others.¹⁹ Then, more recently he readministered the test and found

¹⁹ Summarized in G. E. Simpson, and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958).

that, in general, the order of rejection of the various minority groups remained the same. There are parallels in Negro-white relations. Whites often report that they would find it more objectionable to eat with a Negro than to work with a Negro, and more objectionable to live next door to a Negro than to eat with him. The degree of personal intimacy has been suggested as the underlying dimension that explains the order of these items; however, this seems inadequate, since Negroes often live with whites as maids or nurses. Although the acceptance of Negroes in some situations and their rejection from others is difficult to explain, the effects are real. For instance, only 19 cities of the 248 in the nationwide sample permitted Negroes to get haircuts in white barbershops.

Cultural Heritage Prevails. Earlier it was suggested that individual prejudices do not solely determine whether or not a white person will participate in integrated activities with Negroes. Instead he tends to accept the prevailing practices of the situation in which he finds himself. The accepted policy regulating relations between the races in particular settings, then, becomes crucial. This policy can often be at variance with the local climate of opinion about race relations. For example, Southern ministers of both races may meet for lunch. Some institutional settings, such as a church or a union hall, regulated by policies of a strategic gate-keeper may be called segmental environments; these can either conform with or deviate from local opinion.

Deviations. Deviations from local patterns of discriminations are more likely to occur in some situations than in others. If the norms regulating interracial behavior are poorly defined in some situations, behavior in those situations is likely to be at variance with community sentiment. Where, for instance, do Negroes park their cars in drive-in theaters? The norms of some segmental environments may expressly forbid integration or insist upon it regardless of the prevailing community practices. The Masons, for instance, have a separate order for Negroes. On the other hand, Community Chest drives usually include both Negro and white workers. Finally, if there are competing sets of norms within any one organization, it may even happen that the tolerant set may

prevail in intolerant communities, and the intolerant set may prevail in tolerant communities. There are integrated ministerial alliances in the Southern cities and segregated ones in the North.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF SEGREGATION

Without opportunities for getting to know Negroes, whites use the prevailing patterns of segregation and discrimination as a guide or model for their behavior in the few contacts they have with Negroes. Defensively, Negroes develop their own community life, which further reduces their contacts with whites, which in turn increases the possibility of misunderstanding and conflict, and so on in a familiar vicious circle.

Thus, we come full circle to the point at which we began this chapter. Restrictions and freedoms for intergroup contact and communication depend upon prevailing community definitions of what is appropriate and acceptable. These definitions emerge from shared social experience. Once interlocked into common expectations and interests, they set the boundaries for any given time, place, and situation for intergroup contact. But the experience of interaction, when it does occur, may in turn reinforce or modify the beliefs and norms that guide intergroup relations at the level where one man speaks to another.

From the national scene we focus upon our four communities. Limited in number as they are, they provide for much variation—as in the clear and striking contrast in the pattern of segregation in Southport as over against the more open situation in Valley City.²⁰ In a comparison of 15 community facilities, from churches to bowling alleys, Southport displayed the characteristic Southern pattern of complete segregation. On the other hand, in Valley City Negroes and whites shared access to many of the facilities that were regarded as public, for example, department stores, playgrounds, churches, schools, and movie theaters, although other

²⁰ Cf. Lionel S. Lewis, "Discrimination and Insulation: An Inter-Community Comparison" (M. A. Thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1959), Chapters I and VI.

facilities (which seem to be more personal or social) were generally segregated in actual practice, for example, restaurants, some recreational facilities, hotels, and barbershops. On the whole, however, there was an enormous difference between the partial and informal segregation in Valley City and the pervasive, tightly controlled segregation in Southport.

But even in New York State, where law and public policy are firmly set against public segregation and discrimination, our peaceful city of Hometown showed us one great initial fact: the marked isolation and separateness of racial and ethnic segments of the community. Communitywide sample surveys showed that members of various ethnic categories in Hometown tended to follow beaten social paths that did not often intersect with paths of other groups. These observations were confirmed by project observers. Research observers in Hometown noted that most people seemed to develop an "Indian path"—a well-beaten, often trod, social trail from home to work, back to home, to lodge meeting, back to home, on Sundays to church and back, and then perhaps to visit relatives and friends. Once the pathways had developed, persons tended to stay on them; only once in a long while did they go into parts of the forest frequented by other tribes. For most persons, such paths were narrow walks of life that exposed them to only a few limited social environments. These environments bore down powerfully with their social pressures, their group processes, their standards of attitudes and behavior.

We see, then, that these routine patterns of daily activity have great significance for intergroup relations—that more than almost anything else they determine whom a person will get to know.

Suggestions for Further Reading

BRUNO BETTELHEIM and MORRIS JANOWITZ, *Social Change and Prejudice* (New York: Free Press, 1964). One of the better studies of prejudice against Jews in the United States.

NATHAN GLAZER and DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. *Beyond the Melting*

Pot (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1963). Glazer and Moynihan say that American ethnic groups maintain significant aspects of their own cultural identity, even after many have achieved middle-class status.

GUNNAR MYRDAL, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold M. Rose, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944). A major work in the field of race relations, financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The central thesis of the study is that, despite economic, social, and political factors, the race issue in the United States is at bottom an ideological one.

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW, *A Profile of the Negro American* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1964). A detailed report on the Negro American at mid-century: his personality, genetic composition, mental and physical health, intelligence, and his current protests.

*Group Process and Gang Delinquency**

JAMES F. SHORT, JR.,
and FRED L. STRODTBECK

Although sociologists have been studying adolescent gangs and juvenile delinquency for more than thirty years, only since World War II has gang delinquency been generally recognized as a problem of major proportions. The problem has been especially marked in the larger American cities: New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Chicago. In 1958 the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago designed an action program to combat gang delinquency through the use of "detached workers." The detached worker "movement" had begun in Chicago during the late 1920's, following the recommendations of Frederick M. Thrasher, who originated the concept. The period following the Second World War saw the movement spread to Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City.

A detached worker is usually associated with an established social agency, but he is "detached" from regular programs to operate outside the agency's walls. His job is to search out and work with those delinquent groups, consisting frequently of both adolescents and preadolescents, that make little use of available or-

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ganized leisure-time programs. The worker has the considerable task of hanging around with the gangs, winning the respect and confidence of their leaders, and persuading the gangs to adopt peaceful pursuits. Detached-worker programs aim to leave the gangs intact while attempting to re-channel their energies and activities.

In the Chicago YMCA program discussed by Short and Strodtbeck in Group Process and Gang Delinquency, a research project was included to evaluate the success of the detached-worker program, and to accumulate new knowledge that might prove of use in improving the action program's effectiveness. Several persons collaborated in planning the research project, but James F. Short and Fred L. Strodtbeck assumed major responsibility for its formulation and execution. Short and Strodtbeck had originally intended to obtain data to apply to the gang theories of Albert K. Cohen, Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, and Walter B. Miller; but as the project proceeded, they saw the possibility for their own unique contribution, that of "the group process level of explanation, which complements and in some instances calls for modification of the other theories."

The theories that began their project may be described briefly. Cohen¹ contends that the delinquent subculture emerges as a response to status problems experienced by working-class boys. Unable to succeed in terms of the criteria of the dominant middle-class, these boys suffer loss of status and self-respect. Similarly disadvantaged youngsters join together to reject middle-class standards and values and to establish their own criteria of success. Cloward and Ohlin², on the other hand, suggest that restricted access to legitimate opportunities is the crucial determinant of gang delinquency. Lower class boys have less access than middle-class boys to legitimate means for achieving the economic success so extolled in our society. Moreover, boys with no access even to illegitimate

¹ Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (New York: Free Press, 1955).

² Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: Free Press, 1960).

means for economic success are most likely to resort to gang delinquency and to the use of drugs. Walter Miller³ argues that gang delinquency is a direct expression of distinctive patterns of the lower-class not shared by the middle-classes. He sees the lower-class community as possessing a long-established, distinctively patterned tradition with an integrity of its own, rather than viewing it as a so-called delinquent sub-culture that has arisen through conflict with middle-class culture.

What Short and Strodtbeck have added to these concepts is an emphasis on the "exchange" of "nurturant sociability" in the group process. Failing to obtain basic emotional gratifications elsewhere, gang boys obtain them from an exchange process within the group. For the loyalty a boy gives to his fellow members of the gang, he receives in exchange their approval and attention. Short and Strodtbeck also argue that because these lower-class gang boys are deprived of opportunities to learn how people act in the world outside, they simply do not know how to participate in the larger society. To test these ideas, the YMCA program studied both the gang boys and boys who did not constitute "gangs" in the formal sense. The researchers included in the study non-gang lower-class boys from boys' clubs, settlement houses, and other youth-serving agencies in the area where the gangs under study were located. They also included groups of white and Negro boys not from lower-class backgrounds, these groups having been selected from YMCA Hi-Y Clubs in middle-class areas. Although a vast number of boys were studied, the investigation focused on six groups: a lower-class Negro gang, a lower-class white gang, a lower-class Negro non-gang, a lower-class white non-gang, a middle-class Negro group, and a middle-class white group.

The section of Short and Strodtbeck's account of the project presented here explores "social disabilities" among the gang boys, disabilities thought to help account for the specifically delinquent aspects of their behavior. The reported findings, based primarily

³ Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV (Summer, 1958), pp. 5-19.

on field observations by the research team and the detached workers, make a significant contribution to the literature on gang delinquency and gang leadership. One must be careful of course in generalizing these interpretations to delinquent gangs in other cities and other parts of the country, but the method and results of the Chicago YMCA's project do suggest a pattern very much worth emulating and testing in other communities.

Explorations of Social Disability, Class, and Gang Status

In his classic analysis of street-corner society, Whyte quotes Doc as follows:

Fellows around here don't know what to do except within a radius of about three hundred yards. That's the truth, Bill. They come home from work, hang on the corner, go up to eat, back on the corner, up a show, and they come back to hang on the corner. If they're not on the corner, it's likely the boys there will know where you can find them. Most of them stick to one corner. It's only rarely that a fellow will change his corner.¹

Whyte's comment is that, "The stable composition of the group and the lack of social assurance on the part of its members contribute toward producing a very high rate of social interaction within the group. The group structure is a product of this interaction." He continues, "Out of such interaction there arises a system of mutual obligations which is fundamental to group cohesion."

Whyte attributes corner boys' lack of social assurance to the limited range of social experiences of corner boys, with attendant rigidity in behavior patterning.

Each individual has his own characteristic way of interacting with other individuals. This is probably fixed within wide limits by his native endowment, but it develops and takes its individual form through the experiences of the individual in interacting with others throughout the course of his life. Twentieth-century American life demands a high de-

¹ William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (2nd ed., 1955; Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 256.

gree of flexibility of action from the individual, and the normal person learns to adjust within certain limits to changes in the frequency and type of his interactions with others. This flexibility can be developed only through experiencing a wide variety of situations which require adjustment to different patterns of interaction. *The more limited the individual's experience, the more rigid his manner of interacting, and the more difficult his adjustment when changes are forced upon him.* [Italics added.] . . . gang activities proceed from day to day in a remarkably fixed pattern. The members come together every day and interact with a very high frequency. Whether he is at the top and originates action for the group in set events, is in the middle and follows the origination of the leader and originates for those below him, or is at the bottom of the group and always follows in set events, the individual member has a way of interaction which remains stable and fixed through continual group activity over a long period of time. His mental well-being requires continuance of his way of interacting. He needs the customary channels for his activity, and, when they are lacking, he is disturbed.²

While the nature of the disability (lack of social assurance) is similar among gang youngsters in the present study, its etiology appears to be different. Certainly the lack cannot be attributed to intensity and rigidity of interaction patterns with the same group. For the gang boys these patterns are not stable enough to produce such rigidity. There can be little doubt, however, that the gang boys also lack the variety of experience which increases role playing ability.

Doc's first point, at the beginning of this [section], is apposite. The range of gang boys' physical movements is severely restricted. They are ill at ease when outside their "area," in part because of fear that they may infringe on a rival gang's territory, but in part due also to a more general lack of social assurance such as that to which Whyte refers. Without the base of stable composition of the group, the rate of social interaction within our gangs is lower than was the case with Whyte's corner groups. Mutual obligations, therefore, are tenuous among most gang members and, hence, according to the argument, group cohesion is low.

Excerpts from a detached worker's interview illustrate both

² *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

the low degree of mutual obligation among gang members outside the arena of immediate interaction, and the sensitivity of one gang leader to the lack of social assurance of fellow gang members and of his girl friend. This leader clearly was more in command of the social graces than were the others, and he realized this fact, but the worker suggests that the leader, too, needed bolstering in this regard. In the following excerpt the worker is discussing his negotiations with Duke, leader of the King Rattlers, concerning the disposition of tickets for the annual banquet of the YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago.

A: When I first started thinking about the annual YMCA banquet, I knew I'd be able to get about five tickets, and I had planned on taking three boys and using the other two myself. I talked it over with Duke. First thing Duke suggested, he wanted me to get him a date with one of the YMCA girls from the downtown office. . . . I told him I thought maybe he'd be better anyway to take Elaine because. . . "You've never actually taken Elaine anywhere of importance. You've taken her to the show, but she's never been to a downtown affair."

Q: Is Elaine the girl who has Duke's two children?

A: She has a baby girl who is a year old and one that's three. Duke's never taken her to a real nice place, and I thought it would be nice if he asked her to go. He was real excited. "Okay, I'll ask her." So that was closed.

Then I had one extra ticket. I said, "Well, Duke, seeing that you and Butch get along real well, maybe Butch would go."

The first thing Duke said was, "No, no, we don't want to take Butch because he doesn't know how to eat out in company."

So naturally I smiled and said, "Crisake, he knows just as much as you do."

"No, he just don't know how to eat out in company."

Then he went all the way back to the time I took them to the Prudential Building. I suggested that we go in and get a cup of coffee, but Butch said, "No, we'd better go back to the area [home territory] and get a hot dog or Polish [sausage]." And Duke was all for it, too, because he didn't want to go in there either. On the "Top of the Rock" they did their sight seeing, but they didn't want to go into the little restaurant and

get coffee. They didn't feel they were dressed, or something. They're real shy about going into a strange place that's real nice.

Earlier in the summer I took Duke, Butch, and Harry out to Lake Meadows, and they were real shy. They didn't want to go in because they felt they weren't dressed good enough. But I made them go in and at least have a cup of coffee. We went early. They had a little combo and I figured a guy could sit and listen to them play for maybe half an hour and drink coffee. 'Course, they went in the restaurant part. They didn't go in the other side where you can really hear the combo. They all felt the same way—they weren't dressed good enough.

Anyway, Duke didn't feel Butch was qualified. So I smiled and said, "Okay, how about Harry?"

"Hell no. Harry hasn't got enough clothes to go."

Harry only has one suit. I had mentioned the banquet to him earlier in the week, but he didn't know whether or not he could go—meaning that he didn't know whether he could get his suit out [of hock or the cleaners]. He didn't know whether he'd have any money. But Duke felt so strong about Butch's not going that I didn't push Harry. So I dropped it, and that was it.

On the way over there I did as much talking as I could about the meeting. I told them approximately what was going to go on, about the main speaker being President Eisenhower's doctor, and that there would be a lot of skits from the different YMCA's in the Metropolitan area. When we got to the amphitheater, I dropped Elaine, Alice [Duke's aunt and the worker's date for the evening], and Duke and I went to park the car. Duke asked me if I would pick him up a pack of cigarettes, so I told him I would. I told him to go in and check the coats. He looked around and finally came back because he didn't know where they were supposed to go. Then I found the tables and I put Duke and Elaine together.

Q: Did Duke comment at all about anybody else at the table or about the dinner?

A: Over-all, he had a real good time. He told his aunt and grandmother that he met Mrs. Hoot, or something like that. Really it was Mrs. Shoup. She's chairman of the Women's Auxiliary Board. I told Duke after we had left the amphitheater coming home that Mrs. Shoup has got enough money to bury you. What I meant was she is a good woman to know.

Also, I pointed out Mr. Grammercy. He was up on the stage and I wanted him to meet Duke real bad, because I told Duke quite a bit about Mr. Grammercy before—about his apartment on the north shore where I think he pays something like \$1,700 a month. I wanted him to meet Mr. Grammercy real bad, but we couldn't meet him. I told him later on maybe I'd be able to introduce him.

Elaine complained because Duke insulted her and she couldn't eat her meat. Duke was trying to show her how to cut the meat. He said Elaine didn't know which hand to hold the knife in. She was real hungry and she ate everything but the meat, because Duke was rapping on her so much.

Q: I wondered why she kept looking around the table. She was very self-conscious.

A: Right. She felt real bad for not having eaten the meat. She didn't know whether it would have been appropriate to have Duke cut her meat or not. Duke said the meat was so tender he could cut it with his fork.

Duke and his girl friend were noticeably silent throughout the YMCA banquet. The accident of seating arrangements found them sitting at a table adjacent to the one where the worker sat. They never initiated conversation with the half dozen other guests at their table, and their responses to others' conversational efforts were brief and subdued. Throughout, Elaine seemed cowed by the experience, Duke less so, but obviously at some pains not to make a behavioral miscue. The two exchanged meaningful glances with one another during the course of the meal and the entertainment which followed. Their behavior was stiff and uncertain, quite in contrast to the generally relaxed and friendly atmosphere of the crowd.

Social Disability, Values, and That Old Gang of Mine

The lack of social assurance of gang boys was apparent from our very first contact with them and with the YMCA Program for Detached Workers. Workers reported frequently that their boys did not feel comfortable outside "the area" and that they were ill

at ease in most social situations outside the gang context. . . . The analysis of semantic differential data * . . . and an interpretation of data from a motivation opinionnaire . . . directed our attention to an apparent lack of gratification even of gang membership and interaction, and hence to a hypothesis concerning a fundamental lack of social skills on the part of gang boys which seems even more crucial to an understanding of their behavior than does lack of social assurance. . . . Negro gang boys evaluated "someone who is a member of your GANG" lower than did other boys, and also showed a greater tendency to evaluate themselves (*SELF*) higher than *GANG*. Even more revealing of gang boys' ambivalence concerning their peers, however, was a tendency, relative to the other boys, to endorse such apparently conflicting statements as: "Friends are generally more trouble than they are worth" and "You can only be really alive when you are with friends." In the treatment which follows we will attribute this apparent ambivalence to mutually reinforcing characteristics of gang boys, individually and collectively, which may be summarized in the term "social disability."

The coping ability of gang boys and their confidence in themselves—significant "social abilities"—may well be reflected in the disparity of private vs. gang values and behavior. The disparity concerning the boys' individual and collective *family* attitudes, and their individual attitudes and subsequent behavior is paralleled by similar observations concerning the world of *work*. On two widely separated occasions the following observations were made:

1. Fred commented on the similarity of his experience while conducting the family interviews with the Chiefs and a recent incident in the same area. Fuzzhead, a regular but low-status member of the Chiefs, approached Fred in a pool hall hangout and began to talk very seriously about his plans to get and keep a job so that he could provide for the

* [These evaluations were based on the "semantic differential," a method for measuring the meaning of an object to an individual. Boys were asked to rate a given concept or descriptive image (e.g., "someone who saves his money," "someone who sticks by his friends in a fight") on a number of seven-point bipolar rating scales. These seven-point scales include such bipolar scales as the following: (1) good-bad, (2) kind-cruel, (3) strong-weak.]

girl he wanted to marry. Fred probed Fuzzhead and, finding him deadly in earnest, encouraged the boy in these ambitions and indicated his willingness to help him secure a steady job. In the midst of the conversation other Chiefs entered the pool hall and came over to where Fred and Fuzzhead were conversing. Upon discovering the topic of conversation they began ridiculing Fuzzhead's ambitions. Fuzzhead abruptly discontinued this discussion and despite Fred's encouraging words withdrew from the conversation.

2. This was my last field trip into the gang areas. Fred and I went first through the Chiefs' area where we found Billy sitting on a chair on the sidewalk in front of a pool hall, with one of his (illegitimate) children on his lap. I recalled his prophecy more than three years earlier that such a fate might come to pass. Fred joshed with Billy about his failure to hold a job, and Billy, in turn, tried without success to borrow money from Fred. He allowed as how his "old lady" would give him some money.

While we were chatting with Billy, others in the old Chiefs gang came on the scene. One of the boys pulled Fred off to one side and began telling him that he planned to get married but that he wanted to have a steady job first. Fred was skeptical but encouraging. When the other boys caught the drift of the conversation they began immediately to "raze" the boy concerning his ability to attract and support a wife. The boy dropped the subject completely.

These boys' prospects for steady jobs were poor, despite their sincere desires and intentions. In addition to the instability of that segment of the labor market for which they were qualified, their associations on the street, even though the gang hardly existed any longer (as was the case with the Chiefs in the summer of 1962), was a deterring and disruptive influence. The influence of the gang clearly cannot be explained as a reaction formation against middle class values, nor can it, we believe, in terms of "delinquent norms." Boys in our gangs often were actively discouraged from the expression of conventional values in the gang context, chiefly by derision of individual ambitions and abilities, and espousal of group goals which were alternative but not necessarily anticonventional. Boys "rapped" with girls, and their choice of mates might be

derided, but if a boy persisted in his choice and was successful, other members of the gang accepted the situation. Marriage was not tabu, as witness the marriages (common-law and conventional) of many active gang boys, but "making out with the broads" was a greater value on the street.

So, too, with employment. Detached workers were barraged by requests for jobs, but "hustles" of great variety were bragged about on the streets. Boys who had jobs were not derided for this fact—the Y program practice of giving favored treatment to gang leaders in securing jobs may have been a factor here—but life on the street was far removed from life on the job, and boys who were working knew full well that street life continued, whether or not they were there. One of the problems for these boys is the fact that the job as such is not an acceptable status alternative to the gang. For these boys the job situation is likely to be alien to those experiences he finds most rewarding. An example is the suspicion (in many cases justified) which gang boys experience on the part of plant security personnel:³

Ringo: Them plant policemen—you go down the hall, they ask you, "You got identification?" and "You work here?" and all that . . . well, I mean, they see you come into the building every morning and leave.

Jones: Like you're convicts, man.

Ringo: I told him, look here man, I ain't never been in no trouble.

Cooper: That's worse than being in the place [jail], isn't it?

Ringo: Yeah.

Cooper: At least in the place they don't ask you for no I.D.

Ringo: They know you're going to have your identification card.

³ "Youth Consultant Symposium on Jobs," YMCA of Metropolitan Chicago, mimeographed (spring, 1962). In the interview Ringo and Jones are gang boys, eighteen and nineteen years old, both with job experience through the Program for Detached Workers, both with unstable job histories. Both are core gang members, having occupied positions of considerable influence and leadership. Ringo, the younger of the two, is married. Jones is single. Charles N. Cooper is Assistant Director of the Program for Detached Workers, and Benjamin Ross has at various times been a detached worker, Field Supervisor, and Employment Coordinator with the program.

Ross: Don't you think this is part of his job?

Jones: What, to be bugging people all the time?

Ross: What would you do if you had the gig [job], would you sit up there and cool it?

Jones: Man, if you know I'm working here . . .

Ross: I mean, how many people they got working there?

Jones: Man, I don't know.

Ring: Well, I know they've got lots of workers there . . .

Jones: The man, he knows who he wants to pick on. Now like I see you, Benny, if you don't look right, you look like you're going to do something wrong, well lookit, I'm not going to forget you, Jack. I guess that's the way we look to him.

Jobs for these boys tend to be neither challenging nor very well paid. When one of these conditions is improved, the other may cause trouble:

Ross: Have we ever gotten you a job that you think you might have stayed on for the rest of your life?

Jones: Yeah, this job at the laboratory, I was working at, was a nice job. I was learning how to do most of the things, and as I worked I was gradually catching onto everything and I took interest in it, but it was a small company. Well, it wasn't paying much from the start. Vallis explained that to me, and when I went for an interview with the owner of the company, he told me that it was a small company but that I would be starting with the company and I could grow with the company, and he said that in the first three months I would get a raise, and then after the first six months I'd get a raise. I think I worked about four and a half months and I was looking for my raise . . .

Ross: What happened?

Jones: The cat, he says, "All right, all right, tomorrow." Two weeks later he gave me a nickel raise. About then it was time for me to get the second raise, my six-month raise. And he fired me.

Ross: Why did he fire you?

Jones: I was getting on the cat's back.

Cooper: You got your first raise.

Jones: About thirty-eight dollars. I was making about \$1.20. I was

making thirty-six at first, my take home pay. And he gave me a nickel raise.⁴

Even in the rare cases when pay is adequate, job challenging, and with a good future, the lure of the gang may spell disaster. In the spring of 1962 the director of the Program for Detached Workers reflected that after three years not one of the Chiefs was employed, despite the fact that every one of them had been employed at one time or another, some two or three times through efforts of the employment coordinator. This was sheer frustration for the director, who had worked hard and well with these boys when he was their worker, later as field supervisor, and now as director of the Program. He was especially disappointed with Walter, one of two high school graduates among the Chiefs. Walter was a likeable boy, not given to aggression or excess as were many of his fellow Chiefs. The Program had secured for him a good paying job at a large cosmetics firm, and he had impressed his employer and other workers with his industry. After awhile, however, he began to be tardy and he missed work a few days. As a consequence, he was fired. Said the director, "Walter was always one of the boys. It's hard for such a guy to make it. Only the guys who stay on the fringe of the gang, or leave it altogether, have much of a chance to make it."

Gang boys do not reject the validity of job responsibilities, but life on the streets is not conducive to meeting these responsibilities:

Ross: Suppose you had a factory gig for yourself and you say I'm going to hire me some studs, give them a break because I know how it was when I was coming up, and you hire these cats.

What would you expect of them?

Jones: I'd expect them to get there on time and do their work.

Ross: And if they didn't, what would you do?

⁴ The notion that one should "live fast, die young, and leave a beautiful corpse" might be romantically attractive to a few gang boys, but it would also be regarded as the height of folly. The very few boys who persist in extreme aggression or other dangerous exploits are regarded generally as "crazy" by the other boys.

Jones: Fire them.

Ross: Would you give them a break, would you talk to them or what?

Jones: That's understood—I'd talk to them.

Ross: For how long? Or would you walk in and tell the cat, "Look baby, if you're late one more day, you going to be in the wind; I ain't paying you for coming in late."

Jones: If a person is a nice worker, even if he does come in late, if he can get his work out and not slacking on the job, I don't give a damn what time he got there.

Here Jones clearly indicates his lack of awareness or appreciation of the interdependence of tasks in modern industry—a not too abstract idea, but one very little understood by these boys.

Ross: What would you do in the case of Smith? This joker went down to the gig and the first night he stood around and he looked, 'cause you figure he's learning. And the second night he went down and looked, and you figure he's still learning. And the third night, and he stood in the same spot, and he looked . . . would you fire him?

Jones: I'd give that cat a week's pay and tell him to leave town.

Ross: So what you're trying to tell me is that the cats do not miss the gigs on Monday morning because they tore up [got drunk].

Jones: Aw, maybe on a Monday.

Ross: But not during the rest of the week.

Jones: There you go. Once you get past Monday, Benny . . .

Cooper: You're just liable to make it.

Ross: What did Billy tell me the other night? "I know damn well I'm going to make it tomorrow because it's Friday and Friday is pay day." But you will miss a Monday morning or be late on Monday morning?

Jones: Well, you're trying to get over a weekend, drunk or whatever you've been doing. Especially, Jack, if those broads have been keeping you up all night.

Ross: It ain't always the Thunderbird, sometimes it's them broads.

A dependable supply of money is seductive, however, and even the gang *may* exert a favorable influence on job *getting*, if not on job stability:

Ross: This is what I wanted to ask you . . . Do you get some group pressure, you know, like Billy. I'd have swore up and down that Billy would never get a job. Do you think that Billy got a job because the rest of the fellas were working around there and he sort of got bugged or something?

Jones: They are riding Billy too hard, you see; Billy is a person that loves money. He'll do anything, even work.

Ross: That's what I was trying to find out, you know, if with the majority of the cats working, do you feel like maybe this makes the rest of them want to work. If there ain't nobody working, then the rest of the cats want to quit their jobs.

Ringo: If everybody's working, then they'll try to get a job. If you're out loafing, they're with you; if they've got somebody to drink with, they're with you.

• • • •

Jones: Once you get used to that money coming in once a week, Jack, it's hard to get over.

Ringo: If you think that you are going to work next week or something, you ain't worried. But when you get fired and ain't got nothing coming in, that's the time to worry.

Jones: Boy, that money is habit-forming, Jack.

Finally, family responsibilities, when they are taken seriously, influence employment attitudes of gang boys just as anyone else:

Ross: Do you have any kids?

Ringo: One.

Ross: Is your wife working?

Ringo: Nope.

Ross: How long you been out of work—three days?

Ringo: Three days. I went out to Mailway, Carson Pirie and Scott. I'm in the habit of working now—I don't feel right just free-loading no more.

Ross: Did you talk to Vallis (employment coordinator) yet?

Ringo: No, Al (detached worker) has been talking to Vallis. He's been down two days straight, you know. Vallis sent word he's going to try to do something for me. I was thinking about going to the relief board for a couple of days, you know. Around about

Christmas time, too, you know. My old lady she just got out of the hospital; she wants this, she wants that . . .

Ross: How old is the baby?

Ringo: About five weeks.

But, the "glamour" of family responsibilities is short-lived. The harsh realities of "making both ends meet" with low wages and minimal skills soon assert themselves. A young husband and father, even with the best intentions, is likely to chafe under restrictions imposed by wife and family. The lure of the street is not easily forgotten, and it is culturally supported.

There is no reason to believe that gang boys' performance on the semantic differential and their behavior in conversation with detached workers is any less real than are gang norms and behavior. Indeed it is quite possible that the boys' abstract evaluations of conventional and deviant images and their earnest discussions of the future with detached workers are in a sense "more real" than is the culture of the gang. With very rare exceptions, even the most ardent gang boys do not conceive of the gang as "forever." Much of gang behavior represents a striving toward *adult* status, and older gang boys soon come to put down gang fighting as "kid stuff." Other forms of delinquency which may be more integral to their particular form of lower class culture are not so easily put down, as we have seen. Harsh reality intervenes, also, to make conventional adjustments difficult to achieve. It is easier as well as more status-giving to continue the gang ways and the ways of lower class culture, particularly for boys who possess few of the skills which equip them for achievement outside of these systems and for boys caught up in the status system of the gang.

The apparent paradox of gang boys' allegiance to competing value systems really is not a paradox at all. Their coping ethic simply confirms that value systems do not apply consistently to all situations, or to all roles. Different situations and different roles require different values and different behavior patterns. The reality of contradictory value systems, so endemic to modern society, is especially acute for adolescents who must learn abruptly that they

are no longer children and that they are supposed to behave as young men and women while foregoing many of the privileges of adulthood. The ambivalence of adolescents generally, and of gang boys in particular, with respect to parental values, for example, is attested to by a host of studies, past and present. Like Shaw's "jack roller," many adolescents long both for nurturance and security, and for freedom and adventure.⁵

The relation between values and behavior is further complicated by a time perspective. It may be useful if we conceptualize gang life as a *career phase*, much as did Shaw earlier and in the terms of reference of the literature on professions.⁶ Thus, for example, Becker *et al.*⁷ report that medical students talked idealistically of the medical profession when they were alone with the investigators but they never did so when other medical students were around. Idealism was an important factor in their choice of medicine as a career and in terms of their hopes and aspirations for the future. Some problems of student life and their later decisions concerning the choice of general practice or medical specialty would call forth other, sometimes quite different, values. In all of this the candor of the medical students seemed unquestionable.

A basic difference between gang boys and medical students is

⁵ See Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930). Cf. Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1950); Frederick Elkin and William Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1955), 680-84; S. B. Withey and E. Douvan, *A Study of Adolescent Boys* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1955); E. Douvan and C. Kaye, *Adolescent Girls* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1957); and James Coleman, *The Adolescent Society* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1961).

⁶ See Clifford R. Shaw, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931); cf. Sutherland and Cressey's discussion of "Behavior Systems in Crime," in Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, rev. by Donald R. Cressey (6th ed.; New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1960).

⁷ See Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, Everett C. Hughes, and Anselm Strauss, *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

that for gang boys career phases are less clearly demarcated, and commitment to or involvement in gang life hampers achievement of values held with respect to future phases. For medical students each phase equips for the next—they “grow into” successive stages. Gang boys are expected to “grow out of” gang life and into adaptations for which the gang in many respects has been poor preparation. This is not to deny Miller’s contention that certain aspects of gang life are functional to subsequent lower class adult life:

Some school-connected experiences such as football—with its long, tedious practice periods and drills, interspersed with a weekly battle that calls for a sharp focus of all physical skills and strength in concentrated measure and for a short duration—find analogies in lower class life and in certain kinds of lower-class occupational roles. A dull, slow, and typical week in this subculture frequently culminates in a “night out on the town” and by “hanging one on.” It should also be noted that a substantial portion of the labor force today (about 50 per cent) still consists of laborers, unskilled workers, and routine factory operatives. Most of these jobs are filled by lower-class individuals. Graduates of the street corner, as they grow and assume their roles in the world of work, have been prepared to operate within these interactional milieus, for their street-corner and occupational groups share similar sets of ideas, principles, and values. The job routines of the fireman, trucker, soldier, sailor, logger, and policeman reflect the occupational rhythmic pattern characteristic of lower-class community living, street-corner activity, and football—long periods of routine activity broken by intense action and excitement. As one views occupational needs of the future and, at the same time, analyzes the prevailing features of street-corner society, the following conclusion emerges: *The essential outlines, values, and language patterns; the emphasis on “smartness”; the regard for strength and physical prowess, all appear to remain functional, adjustive, and adaptive for these youngsters.*⁸

Gang life is not conducive to punctuality, dependability on the job every day, discipline, and consistency in job performance, however—all basic requirements of modern industry and of the jobs

⁸ William C. Kvaraceus, Walter B. Miller, *et al.*, *Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual* (New York: National Education Association of the United States, 1959).

to which Miller refers. To the extent that the gang is delinquent, or defined as such by the larger community, its "rep" may damage the prospects for conventional job and other types of adjustments. Thus, a gang leader complained to the Program for Detached Workers that he had been picked up by the police and held in jail for several days "on suspicion" of a crime for which he was in no way responsible. The young man admitted that his *past* behavior may have warranted the suspicion, but this did not alter the fact that the police action placed his current job in jeopardy.

The failure of individuals to make satisfactory adjustments in any institutional sphere inevitably handicaps their ability to achieve future goals. Our gang boys fail often in school, on the job, in conventional youth-serving agencies, and in the eyes of law enforcement officials (and therefore in the public eye). They fail more often in each of these respects than do the non-gang boys we have studied, both middle and lower class. These failures, combined with limited social and technical skills, and blocked legitimate opportunities, constitute an overwhelming handicap for the achievement of the goals they endorse.

It is possible at this time to add to the social disability hypothesis preliminary observations from the personality assessment and one general observation of gang boys compared with other boys studied. From the former, data suggest that gang boys are less self-assertive (in this conventional test-like situation), they are more reactive to false signals than are the other boys, they tend to be slightly more neurotic and anxious, less gregarious, and more narcissistic.⁹ The possible cumulative effect of these differences is more impressive than are the individual findings, for they add up to boys who have less self-assurance and fewer of the qualities which engender confidence and nurturant relations with others. It seems likely that these characteristics heighten status insecurities of gang boys in many contexts. For example, our psychological testing team observed that gang boys were much more sensitive to how others

⁹ From a report by Desmond S. Cartwright, "Psychological Test Differences Between Gang Boys and Others: Summary Prepared for Advisory Group Meeting" (August, 1962, dittoed).

were answering questions, completing instruments, and performing various tasks than were the other boys, and they appeared to be more anxious concerning their own performance relative to others. When we talked to gang boys about the research program, they indicated a special sensitivity to why *they* were being studied. We had to take special precautions in these respects, both to protect the anonymity and the integrity of responses and to assure gang boys that they were not being singled out for any peculiar and derogatory reason. Their public image is of concern to them and, like so many things, is a source of ambivalent feeling. Newspaper headlines and other mass-media references to the gang often are a source of prestige among and within gangs, but they are the *raison d'être* also for changes in gang names, e.g., from Vice Kings to Conservative Vice Kings, from Cobras to Executives.

It is unlikely that gang experience, with its constant challenge to boys to prove themselves tough, adept with the girls, "smart," etc., in any substantial way alleviates status insecurities or their related social disabilities except insofar as gang experience better equips boys to respond successfully to gang challenges. These skills are not calculated to enhance gang boys' status prospects outside the gang, however. And so the cycle is perpetuated.

The carefree image of "that old gang of mine" as a solidary group—all for one and one for all—and the notion that the gang prepares a youngster for adult roles, are tarnished, to say the least, by this interpretation. One suspects that this image derives from nostalgia concerning their own childhood of former members of gangs or of middle class individuals (including sociologists) whose interpersonal skills are more highly developed than are those of our gang boys. Careful observation of lower class gangs has been extremely limited and in most cases superficial. It is unlikely, for example, that Thrasher was able to receive more than a casual impression of the nature of interpersonal relations among the 1,313 Chicago gangs which he surveyed.¹⁰ The romantic note sounded in discussions of the wanderings of gang boys away from home

¹⁰ Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936; abridged, with a new introduction by James F. Short, Jr., 1963).

and school, and references to the hangout as the gang boy's castle may reflect the vicarious gratifications of adult investigators and their own childhood fantasies to a greater extent than they do the perspectives of gang members. To be sure, it is a mistake to read into the behavior of youngsters the motivations of adults, and elements of fantasy are involved in the behavior of gang boys today, as they were at the time of Thrasher's classic study. But the behavior and the fantasies of gang members today are less like Sir Galahad and King Arthur and more like the power plays of syndicate hoodlums and racial bigots among their adult contemporaries.¹¹

Thrasher was acutely sensitive to the necessity for accurate communication between adults and adolescents, and he urged that "to understand the gang boy one must enter into his world with a comprehension, on the one hand, of this seriousness behind his mask of flippancy or bravado, and on the other, of the role of the romantic in his activities and in his interpretation of the larger world of reality" (p. 96). Our quarrel with this interpretation is not that fantasy plays no role in the world view of gang youngsters, but that even these fantasies are sharply restricted by harsh realities of life and by the spectacular successes achieved by a very few,¹² rather than by fairy tales of an earlier and middle class generation. Hero worship, yes, but romantic fantasy, no.

Our argument, further, is that the "seriousness behind his mask of flippancy or bravado" reflects fundamental lacks in social skills and other socially rewarded abilities which are characteristic of the majority of gang boys. Far from being "blythe of heart for any adventure" (Thrasher, p. 86), there is among these boys a deadly serious character in their fantasies and even in their horseplay. And while their fantasies concerning gang membership and prowess may be adventurous, their fear of the world outside "the area" and of association with persons beyond the rather narrow circle of their acquaintance suggests the need for security as a motivation rather than new experiences.

While this argument varies considerably from Thrasher's *inter-*

¹¹ Cf. Lewis Yablonsky, *The Violent Gang* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962).

¹² Such as popular entertainers and sports figures, politicians, and hoodlums.

pretations, it is consistent with much of his data. Thrasher noted the generally unstable character of gang membership and structure, and the short-lived nature of many gangs. These facts, and the ability of gang boys to survive and find food and shelter by various means while wandering the city streets or otherwise away from home impressed Thrasher as evidence of their *independence*. It may be questioned, however, whether this type of existence was adequate preparation either for psychological maturity and general well-being, or for social and other skills. It should be emphasized that we are not arguing that the gang is devoid of play and interpersonal gratifications. Quite the contrary, it is likely that gang membership offers these youngsters a larger measure of these types of rewards than does any alternative form of association of which they are aware and which is available to them by virtue of preparation and other reality considerations. Many gangs have a history of long association, some extending over periods of more than a generation. Further, close and systematic observation of our most highly delinquent gangs reveals much camaraderie and genuine friendship. These are often very unstable, however, for a variety of reasons. There is, for example, the underlying tone of aggression which characterizes so much of the interaction within the gang. There is a threat which hangs over even the closest of friendships that one may have to prove oneself against one's friend, perhaps as a result of forces within the gang but extraneous to the friendship. Status within the gang is subject to challenge from many quarters, and status threat may disrupt even close friends. There is, over all, the atmosphere of mutual distrust of "insiders" as well as "outsiders" which pervades much of lower class culture. The gang boy is likely to come to the gang suspicious of the motives and the dependability of human relationships generally—a suspicion that carries over to the gang itself, and to which the gang contributes in terms both of interpersonal relations within the gang and external to it.

Yet the gang is not characterized by *desperation* in search of stable human relationships, nurturance, and security. It seems, rather, to have worked out a reasonably realistic solution to prob-

lems. The gang boy in many respects is a pragmatist, not "driven" to accept personal relationships which are less than satisfactory, but accepting them, nonetheless, with the expectation that while they may fail him, he will share in-process rewards which offer a considerable measure of gratification.

Similarly, with few exceptions, gang boys do not appear to be "driven" to the excesses involved in their delinquencies, e.g., aggression, alcohol, and sex. These, too, may be seen in part as situationally determined, arising in the course of interaction on the street. Once experienced, inherent gratifications may be pushed to extremes in part because other types of gratifications are so elusive and undependable. Only in our retreatist group did the boys seem "driven" to excess, in the sense that they were obsessed with the search for "kicks," through drugs in great variety and through personal experiences which carried a strong element of self-destruction. . . . For the most part, however, the behavior of these boys appeared less determined by personal idiosyncrasies than by the demands of status and role within the context of the immediate situation. Their social abilities, or the lack of them, determine in important ways the nature of the problems to which they respond and the coping mechanisms at their disposal.

The Roots of Social Disability

The importance to personality development of relations with other persons is a much honored theme in the behavior sciences. From the perspective of role theory, however, interpersonal relations are involved not only in development of personality; in important ways, they come to *constitute* personality. Thus, Brim has noted, "that what is learned in socialization, is interpersonal relationships. To express it slightly differently, much of personality is learned interpersonal relations. . . ." ¹⁸

¹⁸ Orville J. Brim, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," revision of a paper prepared for a conference on this topic, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, May, 1963 (mimeographed).

Observations from an experimental nursery school for lower class Negro children at the University of Chicago suggest that at the age of four and one-half these children are less able to maintain nonaggressive close physical bodily contact with their age mates than are children from middle class homes. The early development of these children appears to be a product of a combination of harsh socialization practices, frequent cautions about a threatening environment, and little cognitive development or verbal skill.¹⁴

Variations in the socialization practices of these A.D.C. mothers were related to the popularity of the children among their peers and to I.Q. changes registered over the thirteen-week nursery school experience. The finding of most general interest from this study is that these two independent variables were very differently related to the character of the mothers' relations with their children.¹⁵ Specifically, use of *verbal* (vs. physical) means of discipline was positively related to I.Q. gain, but unrelated to sociometric popularity; while children with strict (vs. lax) mothers were popular but undifferentiated with respect to I.Q. gain. The irony in these relationships is that the rationale for strictness most often employed by these mothers is that they wish to help their children to do well in school. A factor described as maternal warmth and acceptance of dependency was negatively related to I.Q. gain, but positively associated with popularity. Aggressive children tended to be less well liked.

While it would be unwise to bridge so large a gap on the basis of such limited evidence, the similarity of observations concerning popularity among peers of lower class nursery school and gang youngsters is suggestive. Nurturant non-aggressive boys are rewarded with popularity. The fact that these characteristics are

¹⁴ For preliminary documentation of this program, see Fred L. Strodtbeck, "The Reading Readiness Nursery: Short-Term Social Intervention Technique," Progress Report to the Social Security Administration (Project 124), the Social Psychology Laboratory, University of Chicago, August, 1963.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (1964).

negatively related to I.Q. gain in the nursery school situation suggests still another reason for gang boys' poor performance in school. Caught between the need for friendship and for long-range gains in the form of institutionalized learning, the very young child is likely to choose the former. The aggressive child, on the other hand, is not likely to meet with favor on the part of harried teachers in overcrowded schools, and so does not achieve the gain made possible in the experimental nursery school situation.

Thus, while it cannot be doubted that later experiences in adolescent and adult groups give specific content and order to the display of aggression, and condition its provocation, this early linking of child socialization and aggressive posture suggests that aggressive behavior is not a simple function of later experiences. The early development of aggression as a characteristic means of interpersonal interaction, with its sociometric consequences, should they be confirmed by more systematic research, would add to observations of social disability which flow more directly from gang participation, whether of stable corner boys, à la Whyte, or of our more delinquent and less stable gangs.

The gang presents a boy with a dilemma similar to the school: group norms place a high value on toughness and the ability to fight, yet aggressive behavior waged injudiciously makes one unpopular with peers. To succeed within such narrow boundary conditions requires great skill indeed, skill which most of these boys lack. The "status game" tends not to be played well by these boys, but it *is played*, with gusto, most often in the form of body-punching, signifying, and other forms of pseudo-aggressive behavior—pseudo-aggressive because few boys are hurt in such encounters, despite their intensity. The game takes such a form, we argue, because the boys' social disabilities, compounded by status uncertainties, preclude other games requiring higher order skills.

A further hypothesis to account for the limited social skills of gang boys concerns the narrow range of their social experience within as well as outside the family. The two areas of experience are mutually reinforcing in this respect. The family does not equip

the child with role-playing facility adequate to the demands of such institutions as the school, and unsatisfactory experiences in school further narrow the range of role-playing opportunities which later facilitate job success—"getting along" with employers and fellow workers, and more than this, "getting along" in new and strange situations generally. The ability to move easily from one role to another and to adjust rapidly to new situations is a much cultivated art in modern urban society, particularly among upwardly mobile persons. This ability is inculcated in their children by middle class parents at an early age, and this may prove to be one of the major differentiating areas of early family experience between gang and non-gang boys within the lower class. Certainly the range of favorable role-playing opportunities in school has proven to be greater among non-gang than gang boys. 15.3 per cent and 20.5 per cent of Negro and white lower class, non-gang boys, respectively, were found to have achieved successful school adjustment, compared to 9.9 per cent of the Negro and 9.5 per cent of the white gang boys. The contrast is even more striking with respect to *unsuccessful* school adjustment: NCL = 22.5 per cent, WCL = 24.0 per cent, NG = 46.8 per cent, WG = 42.7 per cent.¹⁶ The negative opportunities through unfavorable contacts with police, courts, and correctional institutions, and association with delinquent peers also have been greater for the gang boys.

Middle class parents teach their children to be sensitive to behavioral requirements of a variety of situations—to role play in an appropriate manner even though the situation may be new to them. They are taught by example and by direction to be sensitive to the nuances of behavior expectations, to look for cues as to what is appropriate behavior and what is not. "Company" is different from "family," entertaining "the boss" is an important educational ex-

¹⁶ The data are reported in Jonathan A. Freedman and Ramon J. Rivera, "Education, Social Class, and Patterns of Delinquency," paper read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, 1962; and in James F. Short, Jr., "Gang Delinquency and Anomie," in *Deviant Behavior and Anomie*, Marshall B. Clinard, ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1964).

perience for it teaches socially approved means of relating to authority as well as something about situationally shifting requirements of dress and manners.

We cannot document systematic differentiation of gang from non-gang family experiences of this nature. In addition to the balance of favorable and unfavorable experience in other institutional contexts which was referred to above, however, we know also that more non-gang than gang boys of both races report having contact with high-status adults and they less often choose local (and therefore lower class) occupational role models than do the gang boys.¹⁷ These are further indications of the broader range of social experiences shared by non-gang boys.

Intelligence. We may speak directly to the question of the intelligence of gang and non-gang boys. Whether or not differential experiences of this nature are responsible, it is the case that gang boys had lower scores on measured intelligence than did non-gang boys studied in the Chicago project. Intelligence was measured by a "culture free" method, a standardized arithmetic test, and by vocabulary, memory, and information tests designed especially so as not to bias the tests against lower class and gang subjects.¹⁸ A general intelligence factor was extracted from intercorrelations of other tests. On all six intelligence measures available from these

¹⁷ "High-status adults" were defined as those having occupations above the mean national socioeconomic (or occupational-prestige) level as determined by the Duncan index. See Ramon Rivera and James F. Short, Jr., "Occupational Goals: A Comparative Analysis," in *Juvenile Gangs in Context: Theory, Research, and Action*, Malcolm W. Klein and Barbara G. Myerhoff, eds. (Youth Studies Center, University of Southern California, Conference Report, 1964).

¹⁸ Standard tests from the Institute for Personality and Ability Testing were employed. See R. B. Cattell and A. K. S. Cattell, *Handbook for the Culture Free Test of Intelligence*, Vol. II (Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1958); and R. B. Cattell et al., *Handbook for the Objective-Analytic Personality Batteries* (Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1955). Specially designed tests were prepared by Desmond S. Cartwright and Kenneth I. Howard. Findings are presented in greater detail in Kenneth I. Howard, Alan E. Hendrickson, and Desmond S. Cartwright, "Psychological Assessment of Street Corner Youth: Intelligence," unpublished manuscript, Youth Studies Program, University of Chicago, 1962.

procedures, *gang boys scored lowest*, followed by lower class non-gang, and then by middle class boys. I.Q. estimates, based upon transformation of culture-free test scores for the six population groups are presented in Table 1.

These findings are impressive because of their consistency and the care with which the test program was developed and administered. They offer convincing evidence that the gang boys were disadvantaged with respect to intellectual ability of the sort which is rewarded by the institutions of conventional society. We need not enter into the nature-nurture controversy concerning measured intelligence. The point is that the school in particular, but other institutions as well, reward the "bright" child and that with respect to this variable, the gang boys are handicapped. Measured intelligence clearly cannot explain all of the variation in behavior among these boys, but it is an important component of the social

*Table 1. I.Q. Estimates for Lower Class Gang and Non-Gang Boys, and for Middle Class Boys, by Race**

| SOCIAL CLASS AND GANG STATUS | NEGRO | WHITE |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Lower class gang | 69.0 | 85.0 |
| Lower class non-gang | 74.0 | 91.5 |
| Middle class | 96.5 | 111.0 |

* Adapted from Kenneth I. Howard, Alan E. Hendrickson, and Desmond S. Cartwright, "Psychological Assessment of Street Corner Youth: Intelligence," unpublished manuscript, Youth Studies Program, University of Chicago, 1962.

disability of these boys.¹⁹ That other factors influence selection for gang membership and behavior is equally clear from the very low I.Q. measure obtained for lower class, Negro non-gang boys.

Leaders, Girls, and Gangs. Whyte observed that among his street-corner boys, "The members do not feel that the gang is really

¹⁹ Reiss and Rhodes also report that delinquents are less intelligent than non-delinquents when social class is held constant. See Albert J. Reiss, Jr., and Albert Lewis Rhodes, "Delinquency and Social Class Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXVI (October, 1961), 720-32.

gathered until the leader appears." This does not appear to be the case among the gangs we have studied; yet, leaders perform in ways which are very important to the other boys, individually and collectively. Some leaders are so powerful that they are referred to by the boys as leaders even during prolonged absence from the gang, e.g., a stretch in the service or in jail. Even among gangs with such powerful leaders, it is the case that boys in any segment of a gang, when gathered together, are likely to identify themselves as members of a gang, and, more importantly, to be identified by others as members of the gang. The gang, *in toto*, does not often gather. Hence, the gang has in fact gathered when any number of members are gathered.

Field observation suggests that there is a tendency for smaller group segments to come together around those in leadership positions, but even in these cases it is likely that there will be a number of separate interactions, e.g., around a playground or restaurant hangout, in and outside an apartment, etc. One of the reasons for this is the presence among many gangs of girls on the occasion of most evening gatherings. This, in turn, relates to a difference in function of the adolescent gang as compared with the adult groups Whyte studied. . . . The adolescent gang is an arena for heterosexual activity, in many cases exploitative and in many cases for courtship purposes. Here is where the boys first "try their wings" in relations with girls. Whyte's young men apparently were less involved in these processes, though they were hardly lacking in heterosexual interest, as Whyte eloquently demonstrated in his description of "A Slum Sex Code."²⁰

The point is that, despite the availability of willing females, these boys tend not to be sophisticated in relations with girls. They are largely ignorant of the biology of sex, and though they may "make out" with what many middle class boys might regard as enviable frequency, sex is a matter of much concern and some anxiety to them. The pressure of the gang compounds the matter,

²⁰ William F. Whyte, "A Slum Sex Code," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (July, 1943), 24-31.

for it is less easy for gang than for non-gang boys to withdraw from sexual competition, by excelling in some other endeavor, for example.

The evidence on this point, while somewhat sketchy, is convincing. Baittle reports that among the gang boys he studied intensively, sexual matters were a source of much anxiety to all the boys regardless of the nature of their sexual experience.²¹ Miller and his associates describe the physically aggressive interaction of boys and girls as being "aggressive in form only" in the sense that the *object* of such aggression is quite the opposite of aggression, namely to encourage friendly relations. The rough and tumble of "accidental" bumpings, wrestling, and body punching between boys and girls is a means of establishing liaisons for many youngsters who are embarrassed at their own ineptness in relations with the opposite sex.²² A detached worker with the "female auxiliary" of a gang of Negro boys refers to this "mock fighting" as "one of the most frequently pursued activities between the boys and girls while on the corner. This play appears to be a form of sexual excitation, invitation, or, at times, prologue. I have rarely witnessed a girl flirt with a boy or be seductive in any other way."²³

Some gangs contribute to the dilemma of the boys by sanctioning exploitative sexual behavior, while at the same time regarding with cynicism and disdain nurturant relations between boys and girls in the courtship process. Hence, on the corner, at least, the boy has little alternative but to behave aggressively toward girls. This doubtless is related in part to age. Among some older gangs,

²¹ Reported to a Ford Foundation sponsored Faculty-Agency Seminar on Juvenile Delinquency at the University of Chicago, 1960. See also Brahm Baittle, "Psychiatric Aspects of the Development of a Street Corner Group: An Exploratory Study," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* (October, 1961), pp. 703-12.

²² Walter B. Miller, Hildred S. Geertz, and Henry S. G. Cutter, "Aggression in a Boys' Street-Corner Group," *Psychiatry*, XXIV (November, 1961), 283-98.

²³ We are grateful to Robin Sheerer, detached worker, for these and other observations as a participant in seminar work at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1962.

the "lover" is given great prestige, and "technique" with girls becomes less physically aggressive and more verbal—one's "rap" with the girls is a criterion of status within the gang.

Among the gangs we studied [there was a] relatively high incidence of sexual intercourse, particularly among Negro boys. . . . Detached workers' reports suggest that "making out with the girls" was highly valued among all the gangs studied and received much attention in the endless conversations on the corner. Yet, a field observer from our research team reported the following incident among members of the King Rattlers, a gang noted for their sexual exploits:

About a half an hour later Roy was talking with Billy over on a couch which was placed under the bay windows in the front parlor. I could not hear what they were saying but after a few minutes they went over to the worker and Billy asked him a question, and the worker, after talking to them for a second, told them to "Call Larry (field observer) over to the side and tell him about it." Billy, the worker, George, and Roy then came over to me and Billy said after calling me into the dining room:

"Tell 'em something. Ain't it true that you can have intercourse with a woman during the time she's menstruating without her getting pregnant?"

Larry: "Yeah." (The worker is laughing and Roy is listening with great interest.)

Billy: "It might be a little messy—get a little blood on you, but she's wide open. One time Duke and I were screwing this girl and I couldn't get it in; I stood back and spit on it and it went in." (Billy gave this last part with animation.)

Though it was not specifically stated, the inference here clearly was that Roy did not understand the menstrual cycle.

Roy had fathered one illegitimate child and had a second child well on its way, yet he had little knowledge about the biology of reproduction.

Another research observer reported on a conversation with a young gang leader well known for his prowess as an auto thief.

Sometime later after we had returned to our seats, Sherman came back and sat with me. He said that he wanted to ask a question and he wanted an answer from "someone intelligent."

Sherman: "When you are trying to 'make' a girl, you don't tell her direct what you want but you hint around—What do you do—how do you say it?"

Answer: Well it depends on how well you know her and where you are—this is something you may want to avoid—but your approach is different depending upon the situation, your acquaintance with the girl, and the type of girl—."

The question was asked in a straight-forward manner and I tried to give him an answer in a similar fashion without the moral overtones, but pointing to the realistic problems encountered by youth as a result of such behavior.

Sherman showed considerable interest in the discussion. To show his understanding of the need for finesse in "making" a girl, he asked my opinion of some poetry he had composed while in jail. He recited a verse or two. The ideas and words used to express them revealed some thought on the matter.

Skill in "rapping to the girls" and in "making out" is highly valued among the gang boys and it often happens that boys with these skills are leaders. The relative ineptness of most boys in relations with girls stands in sharp contrast to the few who possess such skills.

Though systematic data are not available, detached workers and research observers agree that gang girls, especially those who hang with Negro gangs, also are considerably disadvantaged by social disabilities as well as objective opportunity. The girls are not, by and large, attractive by conventional standards either with respect to physical appearance or behavior. A research observer from the Youth Studies Program describes a group of thirteen- to sixteen-year-old Negro girls who hang with a gang of boys as "a loud, crude group of girls who not only curse and are sexually active, but who take no pride in the way they dress. They will come out on the streets or to the community center one day dressed fairly well . . . but on other days, they will turn out with their brother's pants on or jackets, and their hair will not be straightened nor

combed and they will look one big mess." Like the boys, the girls are not articulate concerning their problems or possible ways of coping with them. Programs which seek to teach the girls how to dress, use cosmetics, and comport themselves find eager recruits, but sometimes with grotesque results which are comical despite their underlying pathos. Our observer reports a scene at a West Side community center:

... We walked up a long flight of drab stairs and entered a huge, almost barren, depressing looking room. At this time, there were about twenty girls prancing up and down the room, pretending to look and be like mannequins. But the sight of these girls was almost grotesque. They were dressed in a mannish manner; men's suit jackets, dirty sweaters and blouses, their hair was in disarray and their street-corner slouch was very much in evidence. Or I should say their toughness. Leading the prancing was a model-teacher who looked not like a model at all, although she was an attractive brown-skinned Negro woman who possessed some very unmodellish curves. The girls tried to imitate her, failed, and giggled. This seemed to me to be a very normal, girlish reaction.

Three weeks later, in an apartment hangout of the Vice Kings and their ladies, the observer reported:

... the model is still coming to give the girls modelling lessons. Both Alice and Lottie decided to show me how they had learned to walk and to sit. The boys started making jokes about their modelling lessons. But the girls proceeded to show me. They did the exact walking procedure that I saw the model teach them. They made no mistakes. However, their postures were as poor as ever and their heads still jutted forward, shoulders sloped and a gang girl "tough girl" lope. It was obvious to me that they did not realize that posture counts as well as learning this walking procedure.

Our observations in Chicago have been confirmed by Rice in New York.²⁴ His group, the Persian Queens, also slouched, looked at their sweater buttons as they talked, did their hair poorly, and

²⁴ Robert Rice, "The Persian Queens," *The New Yorker* (October 19, 1963), pp. 153 ff. See also Harrison E. Salisbury, *The Shook-Up Generation* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958). See especially Chapter 4.

suffered the concomitant decrease in self-esteem because of their ineptitude. On one occasion, when the Persian Queens tried to compose a three-line letter of gratitude to a beauty operator who had fixed their hair, they got out a "Dear Madame." The rest of the composition effort became hopelessly involved over their feeling that it was not proper to thank a benefactor directly, and, between them, they failed to find the appropriate circumlocution. Rice's impression was like that of our observer: it seemed as if nothing much ever happened at the meetings.

Thus, both boys and girls are caught in a cycle of limited social abilities and other skills, and experiences which further limit opportunities to acquire these skills or to exercise them if acquired. These disabilities, in turn, contribute to the status dilemmas of these youngsters and in this way contribute to involvement in delinquency. In the final section of this chapter a more direct relation between social disability, gang behavior, and some delinquent episodes is suggested.

Social Disability and Gang Behavior

Theoretically and empirically it appears plausible that gang boys are dependent upon each other for a large share of interpersonal gratification. Yet we have suggested that the gang is less than satisfactory as a source of nurturance and other gratifications. Other recent studies are consistent with this interpretation, though they do not bear specifically on the issue of gang membership as such. Thus Bandura and Walters report that their non-aggressive control boys were "warmer toward peers" than were the aggressive boys, and Rothstein finds that delinquent boys are less likely to regard loyalty and trustworthiness as attributes associated with high social status.²⁵ Even more revealing, perhaps, Bandura and

²⁵ See Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters, *Adolescent Aggression* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1959); and Edward Rothstein, "Attributes Related to High Social Status: A Comparison of the Perceptions of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Boys," *Social Problems*, X (Summer, 1962), 75-83.

Walters also found aggressive boys more conflicted and anxious about manifesting dependency behavior than were the control boys.

Because adolescence is a period of emancipation from childhood dependency relations, dependency needs are difficult to express for most if not all adolescents. They are especially difficult for gang boys, however, for they are likely to be interpreted as an expression of personal weakness. The lower class focal concern of *toughness* pervades gang life, as evidenced by the highly aggressive nature of within-group interaction on the street and in many other social contexts such as at skating parties, quarter parties, and athletic contests.²⁶ The latter provide an instructive contrast between gang boys on the street, or even in a designated and equipped recreation area, and most non-gang boys. Athletic contests in a school setting or on a sandlot generate much camaraderie and feelings of loyalty to fellow teammates and to the student body, if such there be. The game is played hard by all, and, while there may be occasional charges and actual incidents of cheating or fighting, the game is likely to proceed according to the rules and to be carried to a conclusion according to these rules. Observation suggests that this is much less true of gang boys. Athletic contests are more frequently marred by conflict, among team members as well as between teams. Kobrin notes that adolescent gangs in an area very near one of our white gangs were "so completely committed . . . to the value of victory that the rules of the game seemed to have a tenuous hold on their loyalties. It was not unusual for them when stern adult supervision was absent to avoid impending defeat in a sports contest by precipitating a fight."²⁷ Among our gang boys the threat of violence during and after athletic contests was ever present, among participants and spectators alike. After one particularly

²⁶ See Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV (1958), 5-19; and Miller, Geertz, and Cutter, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Solomon Kobrin, "Sociological Aspects of the Development of a Street Corner Group: An Exploratory Study," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XXXI (October, 1961), 688.

heated contest, twenty shots were fired by members of one gang at their rivals, as a result of an altercation over basketball officiating. No one was arrested for the incident, and fortunately, no one was hurt. We have noted, also, an exaggerated tendency by gang boys to *rationalize* failure by invoking by way of explanation factors beyond the boys' control, e.g., "We were so high we were almost blind when they beat us," or "They ran in a bunch of old guys—practically pros—or we'd 'a' beat 'em."

Importantly, for gang boys the *institutional* basis for bonds of loyalty among teammates and their supporters is lacking. The gang lacks the advantage of a major institutional function in which athletics and other activities are ancillary, albeit important. Even among high schools and colleges, athletic contests sometimes are marred by unruly crowd behavior, and followed by pitched battles between supporters of opposing teams, or riots of revenge or celebration. Institutional controls usually prevent such excesses, however, and supporters of both winning and losing teams customarily share rewards which make them unnecessary in any case. For the gang boy, athletic contests differ in this respect from gang fights. . . . In athletic contests there is likely to be no substitute for winning—no school fight song for expressing one's feelings, or sobering school hymn following the game, no homecoming parade, or dance afterward where old acquaintances are renewed and the pains of defeat can be salved by other bonds in common. A "moral victory" is not even in the vocabulary of most gang boys. The gang is neither cohesive nor dependable enough to provide solace in times of defeat. There is excitement galore, and identification with team members during athletic contests, but nowhere to go if the contest is not won.

Gang boys' problems in this regard, we suggest, are in part compensated for by involvement in delinquency. Reference to Thrasher again is appropriate. In discussing group control in the gang he observes that "A stable unity does not develop in the diffuse type of gang . . . until it becomes solidified through conflict." More recently Jansyn's study of a white gang with whom he worked as a detached worker is apposite. Jansyn found that group

activity, both delinquent and non-delinquent, and delinquent behavior by individual members occurred most frequently following *low points* in a "solidarity" index which he constructed for the group on the basis of independent observations. His interpretation is that these activities represent responses to declines in group solidarity. That they were successful in this respect is indicated by the continued rise in solidarity which was observed following these behaviors.²⁸

It may prove to be the case that increased opportunity for expression of dependency needs and their gratification is one of the chief benefits derived from organized athletic activity such as that which is sponsored by detached-worker programs. The YMCA Program for Detached Workers in Chicago attempts to promote team effort and loyalty by staging tournaments and leagues of several types of athletic activity. A project newspaper publicizes the results of such play and occasionally one or more of Chicago's major dailies reports on them. Observation of basketball, pool, and softball games indicates that for most groups a high degree of enthusiasm is generated and the boys do generally receive interpersonal gratifications regardless of the outcome of the contests. It should be noted, however, that some groups have proven very difficult to organize into stable teams. Detached workers with the more delinquent gangs, especially, often have to forfeit games because team members fail to show up for games, or do so under the influence of alcohol or in some cases of drugs. The retreatist boys were never effectively organized into athletic teams, and much of their conversation concerning their own involvement in athletics related to how much better they played while "high." Finally, as noted in the previous chapter, in order to compensate for status threats involved in defeat in athletic contests, the YMCA finds it necessary to provide numerous trophies so that all may share to

²⁸ See Leon Jansyn, "Solidarity and Delinquency in a Street Corner Group: A Study of the Relationship between Changes in Specified Aspects of Group Structure and Variations in the Frequency of Delinquent Activity," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1960.

some degree in these glittering and tangible rewards of team play.

Field observation confirms, albeit unsystematically, that delinquency creates situations in which dependency needs among these boys may be met. This is apparent, for example, in the account of the boys' reactions to conflict behavior. It is even more clearly evident among the retreatists, who protect and care for members who are helpless under the influence of drugs or who have suffered debilitating injury. Boys who are in danger of wandering into traffic patterns will be restrained. When police arrive on the scene the other boys will attempt to shield from view a boy who is obviously under the influence. . . . Concern for the boys who were beaten by adults, and the righteous indignation of the gang over this assault molded that amorphous group, including the criminal clique, into a unit bent on retaliation. The fact that the worker was able to prevent the boys from carrying out their planned assault of the responsible adults suggests that the chief (latent) purpose of their wrath may have been interpersonal gratifications experienced by the boys in the course of the incident. A new bond of loyalty existed among the boys as never before. The fact that it was short-lived underlines the unstable basis of such gratifications among these boys and the necessity for contriving repeated instances in which dependency needs may be satisfied.

The tentative nature of the social disability argument should be clear. Should the hypothesis prove correct, it will provide an important and previously missing linkage between broad categories of individual pathology and group process in the causation of behavior. Family data from our project to this point unfortunately are inadequate to elucidate hypothesized differences between gang and non-gang boys in social disabilities such as those on which we have focused. Later research hopefully will contribute such information.

Suggestions for Further Reading

RICHARD A. CLOWARD and LLOYD E. OHLIN, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: Free Press, 1960). Cloward and Ohlin argue that

American culture makes the seeking of success goals morally mandatory, but differentially distributes the morally acceptable means to these success goals.

ALBERT K. COHEN, *Delinquent Boys* (New York: Free Press, 1955). A study that views working-class boys as being driven to develop a delinquent subculture by the need to recoup the self-esteem destroyed by middle-class-dominated institutions.

ROBERT K. MERTON, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1957), especially Chaps. 4 and 5. The original version of the formulation adapted by Cloward and Ohlin in their work *Delinquency and Opportunity*.

WALTER B. MILLER, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV (Summer, 1958), pp. 5-19. Suggests that there is emerging a relatively homogeneous and stabilized native-American lower-class culture, the focal concerns of which are trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, and autonomy.

*~The Urban Villagers**

HERBERT J. GANS

In 1956 the Boston Housing Authority received local and federal approval of a plan to redevelop the "West End" of Boston. In 1957 the project was transferred from the Housing Authority to a newly created Redevelopment Authority. During the last week of April, 1958, the city took official title to the area's land under the power of eminent domain. By November of 1958, almost half of the 2700 households had departed. And by the summer of 1960, the vast majority of the area's 7000 residents had departed.

A myriad of reasons were involved in the city's decision to redevelop the West End. One of the reasons frequently cited was that most Bostonians were convinced the area was a slum, and that for the good of its residents it should be torn down. Although the West End was a "slum" from the standpoint of middle-class values, it was, at the same time, the home of 7000 people with a distinct sub-culture of their own. Herbert Gans, a sociologist and urban planner, was interested in learning more about an area characterized as a slum, and about the way of life of a low-income population. In 1957, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service, Gans embarked upon a study of the West End. His study, resulting in *The Urban Vil-*

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lagers, was one element of a larger research project on "Relocation and Mental Health: Adaptation under Stress," conducted by the Center for Community Studies in Boston.

As with Dalton's Men Who Manage, the method of Gans's study is mainly that of participant-observation. Gans and his wife moved to the West End in October, 1957 and lived there until May, 1958. Gans employed six major approaches in his field work: (1) as a resident, he used as many of the West End's facilities as possible (for example, stores and services); (2) he attended formal meetings and observed informal social gatherings; (3) he and his wife visited informally with friends and neighbors in the area; (4) he conducted formal and informal interviews with religious and civic leaders, as well as with other community functionaries; (5) he used informants—individuals who trusted Gans and freely gave information about the West End; and finally, (6) he relied on his own general observations of life in the community and the community's relations with the world outside the West End. Altogether, he talked with between 100 and 150 residents of Boston's West End and had intensive contact with about twenty.

At the time of Gans's study, the West End was populated by a great variety of ethnic groups, mainly Italians, Jews, Poles, and Irish. But the Italians formed the largest group—about 42 per cent of the whole—and they and their culture dominated life in the "urban village." Gans distinguishes such a community from what he calls an "urban jungle." The latter he defines as an area "populated largely by single men, pathological families, people in hiding from themselves or society, and individuals who provide the more disreputable of illegal-but-demanded services to the rest of the community." An urban village, on the other hand, he describes as an area "in which European immigrants—and more recently Negro and Puerto Rican ones—try to adapt their non-urban institutions and cultures to the urban milieu." In his view, an urban village like the West End is not really a slum.

Gans's analysis of the West End's social structure—family, peer groups, community, and relationship of the community to the out-

side world—yields conclusions contrary to preconceived middle-class ideas of the needs of an urban village. He defines the difference between what urban planners want and what this kind of neighborhood really needs. The portion of the study presented here describes the West Enders' way of life within their community and the nature of their experience of the world outside. Gans discusses the individual's participation in the community: for example, his relationship to the church, his affiliation with formal organizations, and his association with commercial establishments. Gans shows how the West Ender's relationship to the "outside world" is reflected in his view of his work, his educational background and his opinions of education for his children, and his approach to health and medical care.

Although Gans's study is based on participant-observation and lacks quantitative data, his observations and analysis of life in Boston's West End provide a great number of interesting hypotheses about working-class life in an American city midway in the twentieth century. He leaves to future investigators the testing of these hypotheses against the results of more systematic social science research.

The Community

The Nature of Community

Sociologists generally use the term "community" in a combined social and spatial sense, referring to an aggregate of people who occupy a common and bounded territory within which they establish and participate in common institutions. I shall employ the term in a purely social sense, however, to describe the set of institutions and organizations used by the West Enders to perform functions that cannot be taken care of within the peer group society. While these institutions are located in the neighborhood, this only puts them within reach of their users. Their functions otherwise have little to do with the area or neighborhood. For this reason the role of the institutions in the lives of the West Enders can be de-

scribed almost without reference to the spatial community or neighborhood.¹

In fact, the West End as a neighborhood was not important to West Enders until the advent of redevelopment. Early in my study, for example, when asking people why they liked the West End, I expected emotional statements about their attachment to the area. I was always surprised when they talked merely about its convenience to work and to downtown shopping. Then, after I had lived in the area a few weeks, one of my neighbors remarked that I knew a lot more about the West End than they did. This led me to realize that there was relatively little interest in the West End as a physical or social unit. West Enders were concerned with some of the people who lived in the area, but not with the entire population. Their interest in the physical features of the area was limited generally to the street on which they lived, and the stores which they frequented. This fact was illustrated by the fact that during past election campaigns, politicians made a somewhat different speech on each street, filled with promises of what they would do for the street if elected.

Indeed, only when the outside world discovered the West End and made plans to tear it down did its inhabitants begin to talk about the West End as a neighborhood, although, of course, they never used this term. And yet some felt sure until the end that while the West End as a whole was coming down, *their* street would not be taken, which helps to explain the lack of protest about clearance until it was too late. Only after it was too late did people begin to realize that they did have some feelings about the entire area.² Even then, however, they talked mostly about losing their

¹ I shall use the present tense to describe patterns that are associated with the way West Enders live wherever they reside, but I shall use the past tense to describe institutions that no longer exist.

² This has been reported about the entire West End population by Marc Fried, "Developments in the West End Research," Boston: Center for Community Studies Research Memorandum A3, October 1960, mimeographed, p. 7. For a more detailed analysis of how this population felt about the West End, see Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban 'Slum,'" *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, vol. 27 (1961), pp. 305-315.

apartment, and being torn from the people with whom they had been close so long. It is for these reasons that I use the term "community" in a more limited, nonspatial sense.

The specific institutions that constitute the community are the church; the parochial school; formal social, civic, and political organizations, some of them church-related; and some commercial establishments. These institutions—predominantly Italian—exist outside the peer group society, but are linked with it if and when they can be used to meet group and individual needs. The peer group society so dominates West End life, however, that the community is relatively unimportant. Excepting the church, the success of the remaining institutions therefore depends on the extent to which they are allied and subservient to peer group needs.

The community must be distinguished from still another set of functions and institutions which may be of more importance to the West Ender, but which he views either as necessary evils required by the larger, non-Italian society, or as services offered him by that society which he uses selectively and with little enthusiasm. These include work, education, health services, welfare agencies, government, and the mass media of communications. Because these institutions are, in differing degrees, imposed upon the members of the peer group society, I have described them as the outside world.

Patterns of Community Participation and Leadership

In the middle class, people are viewed as participating in community activities. That is, they enter organizations because they share the values and aims fostered by them; or because they find organizational activities—such as the acquisition of prestige, leadership experience, or social and business contacts—useful for their own purposes. Since for the West Ender, parallel functions can be satisfied within the peer group, participation in the community is ancillary. Sometimes, however, a single peer group does become active in an organization to help out a friend who has become an officer. But most of the more active individuals are either socially marginal or mobile.

West Enders usually will belong only to those organizations which offer opportunities for peer group activity that are not available elsewhere. For example, the Holy Name Society of the parish church gave the men an opportunity to take communion as a group, and to bowl together. When one of the members decided to run for office—undoubtedly at the urgings of his friends—and was elected, he brought in family members and friends to help run the organization. Peer group ties obligated people to help the officer; and the group, in effect, ran the organization. Politicians followed somewhat the same procedure. In the West End, they called on relatives and close friends to form a campaign staff, who, if their man was elected, became an informal kitchen cabinet that advised him. Since a peer group's competence to counsel on citywide affairs was limited, the politician used the group to unburden himself, and to test the advice he got from experts.

Most of the remaining participation was handled by the socially marginal and a few community-minded West Enders who are middle-class mobiles. For example, Italian participation in the Save the West End Committee—the group organized to protest the area redevelopment—was limited to a handful of intellectuals and artists. Although they were active within their own peer groups, their career and creative interests separated them from these groups psychologically, and also caused them to be treated with some suspicion. As a result, they developed a strong symbolic identification with the West End, which provided a feeling of belongingness, and, at the same time, allowed them to express feelings of protest about the redevelopment which could not be expressed as easily by their neighbors. Partially because of their skills and their marginality, they were able to develop a holistic concept of the West End as a neighborhood.

Community participation also provided an entree into the peer group society. For example, one of the most active participants turned out to be a man of Baltic descent whose activity helped him become part of the Italian group. Most people were unaware that he was not of Italian origin, and those who did know believed him to be French. His entry into the peer group society was aided by

the fact that he had no brothers or sisters in the West End, and that he had married an Italian girl. His skill in carrying out activities in which other West Enders had no interest or ability helped him in becoming part of a male peer group. Another active West Ender used participation to remain in the peer group. He explained that his activity was motivated by his desire to be a model of respectability for his children. Since he was also an inveterate gambler, I suspect he used his organizational activity to counteract this failing, and to maintain his standing in the routine-seeking peer group to which he belonged.

Most of the other active people—and they were few—were mobile, some with white-collar jobs, and all of whom were seriously thinking about sending their children to college. Several had been asked to participate in the community by the church, or by settlement houses which typically attracted such people.

As already noted, many West End women belonged to informal and nameless clubs that were actually peer groups. Adolescents and young adult peer groups were organized as clubs for a variety of reasons. Adolescents formed them so as to be admitted into the settlement houses for "club night." Young unmarried men, scattered geographically and few in number, needed clubs in order to come together. Within the clubs, however, activities differed little from informal peer group pursuits. Thus, such groups were not really part of the community.

The remaining West Enders, that is, the large majority, did not participate in the community at all. The reasons for non-participation are to be found in the peer group society. . . . West Enders are not adept at cooperative group activity. The peer group must, above all, give life to the individual, and cooperative action directed toward a common end detracts too much from this central purpose. Moreover, West Enders are reluctant to place themselves in a leader-follower, officer-member relationship, which would detract from the individuating function of the group and would also require members to assume a subordinate, if not dependent, role toward the leader. Consequently, only a highly charismatic leader

seems to be able to attract followers and retain their loyalty for any length of time.

Leadership itself is sought, however, because it provides considerable opportunity for individual expression. In fact, one of the reasons for the inability of the Save the West End Committee to function was the desire of most of the participants to be leaders and their unwillingness to carry out the routine tasks required. The familiar complaint of community organizations everywhere—"too many chiefs and no Indians"—is perhaps nowhere more true than among people like the West Enders.

Now, leadership requires some detachment from the group. But any such act of detachment from the group immediately lays the leader open to suspicion that he is out for personal gain. This suspicion dogs every political leader, particularly since his activities take him into the outside world where he is free from peer group control. Consequently, he is expected to participate in the exploitative relationships thought to be dominant there. Milder forms of this suspicion also greet the leader of local organizations. In fact, the only people who seem to escape it are religious figures. Even then, this is true only as long as they are concerned with purely religious activities. The moment a priest involves himself in worldly affairs, such as city politics or even church building plans, the halo is removed, worldly motives are imputed, and suspicion reigns. Thus, even in the absence of any real evidence, West Enders were sure that the leadership of the Boston archdiocese had a set of venal motives for the destruction of the West End.

The suspicion of leadership can frustrate community participation only because the majority of the people see no need for such participation. As West Enders see it, problems are solved either by the individual, the peer group, or by going to the politician to ask for a favor. Should these methods fail, they resign themselves to the problem's insolubility, and attribute the lack of action to the immorality of those in control. For example, West Enders were quite upset about poor municipal services and the disrepair of local streets, but aside from complaints to the politicians, no further action was taken. During the late 1930's and early 1940's the West

End did have a Citizen's Planning Board that took such complaints to City Hall and that was fairly successful in having them corrected. This Board, however, had no citizen members, and was run by three Jewish settlement house workers, only one of whom lived in the West End.

Because of the absence of citizen participation, leaders do not even think in terms of citizen activities. Nor are organization programs designed to involve them as participants. For example, the Save the West End Committee, after endless meetings to discuss ways of meeting the redevelopment threat, acted mainly by publishing leaflets which documented the immorality of the city. These offered no opportunity for citizen action, and the anger that they expressed was only repeated—and dissipated—in peer group discussions. One West Ender who shared fully the beliefs of the Committee argued that it should not "get people all stirred up, because they do not unstir easily." He felt that this would only incite useless riot, and did not even consider the possibility of group action. In fact, among the West Enders of Italian background who participated in the Committee, violence against the mayor, or burning him in effigy was the mode of action most often and most enthusiastically proposed. The only group action scheme to get beyond the talking stage was a mothers' march on City Hall, planned in the belief that even the immoral men who had decreed the destruction of the West End could not remain deaf to the plaints of mothers, especially old ones. But although such a march was actually scheduled, only its planners showed up, and it had to be cancelled.

The behavior of West End leaders appears irrational—and threatening—to outsiders. Thus, settlement house people viewed the protests against redevelopment as rabble-rousing, and local politicians as demagogues. The leaders—especially the politicians—are caught in a difficult dilemma. Even when they do not share the West Enders' personalized view of events—and quite often they do—they know that West Enders will become interested only when their anger is aroused. Moreover, West Enders expect their leaders to arouse them, and to express for them their own anger at the outside world. Should a politician fail to do so, he is suspected of

having sold out. Thus, he must often function in ways that the outside world interprets as rabble-rousing, even though his inflammatory appeals are not likely to produce much citizen action.

Leaders of all kinds always labor under some suspicion. They are expected to produce results, and, if they do not, someone is sure to suggest that they have been paid off. If they do succeed, they may be suspected of having profited handsomely in the process. Even if a leader does remain above suspicion, he receives little reward for his efforts, for West Enders are fundamentally uninvolved in community activities.

The Church

The most important formal institution in the West End was St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, which provided West Enders with a facility for religious worship and for the parochial education of their children. Its Holy Name and Catholic Women's Societies accounted for most of what little "rank-and-file" community participation did occur.³

Even so, West Enders were not closely identified with the church. There are a number of reasons for this. Southern Italians, and especially Sicilians, have been traditionally anticlerical because the church, in the past, had sided with the large landowners against the peasants and farm laborers. And although events in the Sicilian past are of little interest to the American-born West Ender, they have created a tradition of nonidentification which the American church has had to overcome. This, it has failed to do, at least in the West End.

Yet, West Enders are a religious people, and accept most of the moral norms and sacred symbols of the Catholic religion. They believe that the church ought to be the source and the defender of these norms, and expect it to practice what it preaches. At the same time, they observe that it is in reality a human institution

³ I use the past tense here because although the present church has survived the redevelopment, most of the parishioners were West Enders, and have been dispersed.

that often fails to practice what it preaches. Thus, they identify with the religion, but not with the church, except when it functions as a moral agency. For example, most West Enders attend Sunday Mass because it is a religious duty—and absence a sin—rather than because of any identification with the local parish.⁴ Men see the conflict between religion and church more sharply than women; and the action-seeking group, more than the routine-seeking one. It is reflected in lower male and action-seekers' church attendance. Men also are more impatient than women with religious ritual. A small Italian-Protestant church on the edge of the West End was scorned because its members took too great an interest in religion. One West Ender described them as "holy jumpers," not because they acted out their religious feelings physically, but because of the emotional intensity of Protestant congregational participation.

The male attitude toward the church is based in large part on lack of respect for the priesthood. For while priests are expected to be morally superhuman, they also are suspect for being not quite human enough, because they have chosen a way of life that requires celibacy. They are criticized for playing parish, diocesan, or city politics, for having favorites among parish members and choosing them so often among the more well-to-do, and for personal "vices" such as drinking. Thus, they are scorned for acting like normal men, even while they cannot perform the one act that would prove their masculinity. The priesthood is felt to be a suitable role for those uninterested in sex and unwilling to marry. This was underscored by a rumor that one of the few priests who had gained the affection of the West Enders some years back was said to be keeping a mistress. This rumor was told me with relish and pretended disapproval that reflected respect for the priest's manliness. Conversely, West End men have considerable regard for the nuns who teach in the parochial school, because the nun's virginity and her total dedication to whatever duty she is assigned

⁴ Attending Mass also provides an opportunity to dress up, to see people and be seen, to promenade after church, and to socialize with friends and neighbors.

by the male leadership of the diocese implement to perfection the male idea of the good woman.

In his moral role, the priest is respected. He functions as judge and jury on all religious matters and on moral transgressions. The police in the West End, for example, took juvenile delinquents not to the station house but to the priest in order to mete out punishment for initial offenses; only when a boy became a habitual delinquent was he booked and judged by secular law. When a priest did cross over what West Enders defined as the line between sacred and secular concerns, however, legitimate authority ended, and he was either openly chastised by the parishioners or his transgression was reported to the pastor. Similarly, the Archbishop was severely criticized for taking a stand on the clearance of the West End—he was for it—and for permitting the destruction of the area's Polish church.⁵

Part of the lack of identification with the local church must be ascribed to an ethnic conflict. The parish had been founded at the time when the West End had been predominantly Irish. And, although the Irish had long ago moved out and the congregation was now overwhelmingly Italian, the pastor, many of his priests, and most of the lay leaders still were Irish. West Enders referred to the parish church as "the American church." Even so, they were not visibly bothered by the dominance of the Irish, if only because the church did not really engage them strongly. Perhaps they were also resigned to the inevitable, for the church has always been under Irish control in Boston. As the Catholic church does permit its adherents to attend mass outside the parish, some West Enders went to the Polish church because its schedule of masses suited them better. They also could have gone to one of the Italian churches in the North End, but only some of the old people did so, mainly for language reasons.

⁵ West Enders were upset because the Polish church building was only fourteen years old, while the parish church, which was spared from destruction, was over a hundred years old, and considered by its congregants to be an ugly and drafty old barn. Built in 1844 as a Congregational church, it was preserved for its architectural value.

The West Enders' detachment from the church may also be a result of the differences between the Irish and the Italian concept of the Catholic religion. Italian Catholicism emphasizes the worship of the Virgin Mary; the source of authority is matriarchal. Indeed, West Enders displayed pictures and statues of the Madonna and Child in almost every room of their apartments. Irish Catholicism stresses, among other things, the Trinity, which is male, and its source of authority is patriarchal. But as Italians are notably resistant to patriarchal authority, those who did give any thought to the matter had little sympathy for the stern and less permissive Irish Catholicism being taught to their children at church and in the parochial school.

A factor distinctive to the West End was the pastor's policy that the church should minimize church-related social and neighborhood activities. The pastor himself had little contact with his parishioners, leaving this function to the other priests. The ones who were assigned to the West End parish during the time of my study had little interest in, and sympathy for, the neighborhood. In fact, the two members of the church staff whom I interviewed described the area as a slum in which it was not safe to walk at night and viewed its residents as mostly transient and socially undesirable people. They looked forward to the redevelopment of the West End, and hoped for a more middle-class group of parishioners.⁶ Their attitudes resembled those of the church's Irish lay leaders. Most of these, living on the Back of Beacon Hill, felt that the West End had deteriorated significantly when it had become predominantly Italian.

Although the pastor did permit the Holy Name Society and the Catholic Women's group to function, these and the St. Vincent de Paul—a group of laymen who administered charity to a small

⁶ Some time ago, the church carried on its staff a priest who was deeply involved in the community, and who ran athletic programs for the adolescents. He was evidently much liked in the community, and the fact that he was Irish did not detract from his influence. The central character in Joseph Caruso's novel, *The Priest*, New York: Popular Library, 1958, bears some resemblance to this man.

number of parishioners—were the only groups attached to the church. By contrast, the Polish church, which served a smaller congregation, had ten such satellite organizations.

The Catholic Women's Society, dominated by Irish parishioners until the area was torn down, functioned as the main social circle for the Irish women of the church, and enrolled few Italian parishioners. The Holy Name Society leadership, however, had been taken over by Italians during the 1950's. The Society's program was a fairly representative one: the group took communion together once a month, and held meetings afterwards at which films or speakers on male topics were presented. There was also a weekly bowling league. In 1958, 30 per cent of the male parishioners were said to belong to the Society, although most of them were inactive.

The parochial school was run in conjunction with the church. Having once had sixteen grades, it had since been cut to eight grades, and, in its last few years of existence, only first graders were accepted as new students. Thus, it was difficult to estimate how many West Enders sent their children to the parochial school. There was general agreement that the parochial school was better than the public ones, mainly because it expelled students with discipline problems, who then wound up in the public schools. I believe that most West Enders who could afford the tuition fee sent their children to the parochial school.

This choice was based neither on identification with the church, nor on a belief in the school's Catholic curriculum, but on the ability of the nuns to obtain and maintain discipline. Indeed, West Enders often suggested that the main purpose of school was to train the children in self-control, obedience to female and religious authority, and submission to discipline generally. As one mother explained, "Education teaches [my son] to keep away from bad boys." Parents respected the nuns for their dedication and sternness, and hoped that their methods would help keep the children out of trouble as they became adolescents. The students were exposed to a classical academic curriculum, but little rubbed off on them beyond the fundamentals. Dutifully learned by rote

methods, it was all forgotten when the examinations were over. Conversely, some West Enders who were dedicated to Italian Catholicism complained that the school was indoctrinating their children in Irish Catholicism, but whether this indoctrination takes hold cannot be judged fully until the children reach adulthood. Observations of Italian families in the suburbs, however, would suggest that third-generation adults have continued to keep themselves aloof from church activities other than attendance at mass.⁷

Formal Organizations and Associations

By 1958, the only West End organizations with members of Italian origin were the American Legion post and the Augusta Society. The Legion post, located just outside the West End, had been founded when the community was predominantly Irish, but was now largely composed of Italians.⁸ It was, however, almost defunct, and was run by a West End barber who assailed his customers with complaints about the lack of cooperation he was getting to his appeals for help in reviving the post. In 1958, the post came alive only before St. Patrick's Day and Christmas, when about two hundred women attended the "penny sales"—lotteries in which nearly a hundred prizes were raffled off at the cost of one cent a ticket.⁹ These sales, like the church bazaars and card parties, provided a religiously legitimated opportunity for the gambling that the men—and some women—pursue day in and day out by betting on the numbers and on sporting events.

The Augusta Society, open only to Sicilians who have come

⁷ This impression is based on comments by Michael Parenti, of the State University of New York at Oyster Bay, and on my own observations in suburban communities. This problem is also discussed by Nathan Glazer, *Peoples of New York*, forthcoming.

⁸ Another post, located within the West End, was frequented by Polish legionnaires.

⁹ Just before the 1958 St. Patrick's Day penny sale, the Legion commander decided that it should be associated with Easter rather than with the Irish holiday. Since the post had been predominantly Italian for many years, he confessed sheepishly that the change should have taken place at least ten years earlier.

from the village of Augusta in eastern Sicily, attracted mostly immigrants. I was told that less than half of its members still lived in the West End, and that most of these came from a three-block area of the West End that had not been included in the slum clearance project.¹⁰

Another organization based on residential origin is the Old-Time West Enders club, which meets in a downtown hotel once a year. It was started about 1950 by some Irish and Jewish men who had grown up in the West End between 1900 and 1915. Limited to men who were born and raised in the area, the organization attracts about three hundred men to its annual gatherings. The main event of the annual meeting is a speech by a prominent person who grew up in the West End. The meeting which I attended was addressed by a railroad president, who attributed his occupational mobility and worldly success to lessons learned "at the university of hard knocks" in the West End of his childhood. He also contrasted the heavy responsibility of his current social status with the simpler, if more poverty-stricken, way of life of a slum child. I was told that other speakers stressed similar themes, and that there was much nostalgia about the good old days and the joy of life in the West End. Most of the members are middle-class men who now live in the suburbs of Boston. Although the West Enders who I have been describing . . . were eligible to belong to the group, only a few ever came. The handful who did attend the meeting at which I was present had little sympathy for the speaker's feeling about the West End, and pointed out acidly that the group had not opposed the redevelopment of the area.

Just after World War II, the West End also boasted a number of young men's social clubs, which were formal organizations only to the extent that they had names and constitutions. This enabled them to hire meeting rooms, and to extract tribute from politicians at election time in exchange for an endorsement. Although the clubs took little or no part in the campaigning, I was told that if the candidates had not contributed funds, club members would

¹⁰ This area has since been scheduled for clearance as part of the Scollay Square redevelopment project.

have entered the campaign by maligning them.¹¹ Members met nightly for card games, and held informal parties on weekends. The club rooms also provided an opportunity for peer group sociability, inexpensive entertainment, and privacy for dancing and drinking, as well as for after-hours sexual activities with whatever girls could be persuaded to stay after the dance was over. The clubs seemed to have divided on somewhat the same college-boy-corner-boy basis that Whyte had observed in the North End.¹² By 1958, only one such club still survived, consisting primarily of young men who had attended college or who held white-collar jobs. Most of its members no longer lived in the West End, but returned to the area to meet childhood friends, or because they could not find compatible associates in their new neighborhoods.

Commercial Establishments

The West End's taverns, stores, and restaurants were part of the community because, like most of the previously discussed organizations, they served the peer group society in a variety of special functions. Some provided meeting places for groups that had no other home, and others served as ganglia in the area's extensive communication network.

The West End was also dotted with lunch counters and "variety stores," the latter selling newspapers, magazines, candy, school supplies, a small stock of groceries, soft drinks, and sandwiches. These places too—as well as the tavern and barber shops—provided hangouts for men who were not visibly employed, and for others who stopped by after work. Since Italians drink less liquor than other working-class populations, the taverns tended to attract few

¹¹ The West End clubs seem to have been less important politically than those which Whyte described as operating in the North End. In the 1940's and 1950's, the candidates of Italian background came primarily from the North End, and evidently felt that the West End was less important to their political fortunes. For an analysis of the political club in the North End, see William F. Whyte, Jr., *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, 2nd ed., 1955, Chaps. 2 and 5.

¹² Whyte, *op. cit.*, Part I.

of the West Enders. Several of the smaller ones, however, were taken over entirely by young men who spent their afternoons and evenings there, and who drank enough beer to pay the rent. They so dominated these taverns, in fact, that other West Enders rarely entered. In the tavern which I visited occasionally, the bartender was part of the peer group, and participated in the card games and conversational competition as an equal. Much of the time he did not even function as bartender; the regular customers came behind the bar to serve themselves, and put their own money in the cash register. Similarly, in one of the luncheonettes where I sometimes drank coffee, the regular customers did not give orders to the owner, for he knew exactly what they wanted. Women did not "hang out," of course, but they did combine shopping with socializing, mostly in the small groceries.

Teenagers also frequented some of the stores, but most of them congregated on corners near one of the variety stores or small groceries, where their presence was met with mixed feelings. For although they did buy ice cream, candy, and cigarettes from the stores, they also expressed their hostility toward the adult world to the adult customers. The owners occasionally would try half-heartedly to chase the teenagers away. But they had little success, for, in most cases, the same corners had been used for "hanging out" for two generations.

The owners and managers of the bars and luncheonettes were kept busy also in taking and passing along messages for their regular customers. The latter, who frequented the stores at regular and unchanging times during the day, often received phone calls there. Moreover, as many of them did not seem to have telephones at their own homes, they could best be reached at their regular hangout. In addition, the establishments served as centers for the exchange of news and gossip. Since the West End did not have its own newspaper, and since West Enders placed little trust in the city press, the commercial establishments thus played an important communication function in the area.

Some of the commercial establishments also served as hangouts and communication centers for *sub-rosa* activities. A number of

the men who could be seen in the area during the day made their living as petty gamblers, or by working for more organized gambling endeavors. Some of the luncheonettes and variety stores had installed special pinball machines equipped for gambling, with payoffs increasing with the amount of money put into the machine. With the right combination of skill and luck, investments of several dollars in nickels could pay a 50 to 200 per cent return to the player. I use business concepts to describe the play, because the men who played these machines regularly approached them with the same amount of deliberation and care that a middle-class person would use in playing the stock market. Less dedicated gamblers generally stayed away from the machines.

Most of the extrabusiness activities that I have described took place in establishments owned or managed by people who lived in the West End, and who were socially and culturally like their customers. Indeed, they were able to compete against the more modern stores outside the West End only because they could attract regular customers whom they treated as peer group members rather than as customers.¹³ Many of them probably earned little more from their establishments than the employed West Enders. Some of the luncheonettes were perhaps able to stay in business only because of income derived from the ancillary gambling activities. Maybe this is why they had been opened in the first place.

The Outside World: Work, Education, and Medical Care

The Structure of the Outside World

To the West Ender, the organizations and institutions that constitute the community are an accepted part of life, since their functions are frequently auxiliary to those of the peer group society.

Other organizations and institutions, however, which play an

¹³ In addition, the food stores retained their customers by giving credit and by being near at hand to West Enders who were restricted in their movements, especially the elderly and the people without cars.

equally if not more necessary role in the life of the West Ender, are less freely accepted. Added together, these make up what I have called the *outside world*. Although the term is mine, it reflects what West Enders describe as "they" or "them." This is the world beyond the peer group society and the community: the world of employers, professionals, the middle class, city government, and—with some exceptions—the national society. Although the outside world is almost entirely non-Italian, it is not defined by its ethnic characteristics. Thus, even Italians who adopt its values are scorned by the West Enders. In short, then, it consists of those agencies and individuals who interfere with the life of the peer group society.

The agencies which I have grouped under this rubric differ widely, both in function and the way in which West Enders relate to them. At one extreme, for example, are the worlds of work and health care, which are so vital to the individual and the peer group society that they have little choice but to accept them. Then, there are the services that social agencies from outside the West End offer to West Enders, notably the settlement houses. These are treated with a mixture of curiosity and suspicion. But, since they are not necessary for peer group life, they are essentially ignored—at least by adults. In between is education, especially at the high school level, which most West Enders now accept as being necessary, although they are still ambivalent as to its usefulness. At the other extreme are the law, the police, and the government. Conceived as agencies that exist to exploit West Enders, they are thus viewed with considerable hostility. If possible, contact with them is minimized, and relegated to the politician. Off to one corner is the world of consumer goods and the mass media of entertainment, whose products are welcomed into every West End home, albeit with considerable selectivity. Even so, the mass media do constitute one of the major ties to the outside world.

These diverse agencies can be discussed together because they are external to the peer group society. Since they are manned by nonmembers, who are expected to treat West Enders in object-oriented ways, the rules of behavior that govern the peer group

society are not applicable to them. The services of the outside world are to be used if they are desirable and to be ignored or fought if they seek to change or injure the individual or the peer group. . . . The West Ender always expects to be exploited in his contact with the outside world, and is ready to exploit it in return. If he is treated in a person-oriented fashion, he is pleasantly surprised and ready to do likewise. But he still remains on guard, and the burden of proof rests with the outside world.

Attitudes toward the outside world are not homogeneous. Action-seeking people, for example, are much more suspicious and hostile than the routine-seeking. Likewise, men are more hostile than women, mainly because they have frequent contact with the outside world, and more often need to defend themselves against it. Even so, everyone shares the basic gulf that exists between the peer group society and the outside world—a gulf that must be crossed by one or the other before the West Ender will become a part of the larger American society.

The World of Work

The parents of the West Enders were farm laborers in Italy, and were employed as unskilled factory or construction laborers in America. While the second generation's fortunes have improved considerably, most West Enders still are employed in unskilled and semiskilled blue-collar jobs. Although the bureaucratization and unionization of employment have vastly increased job security, the West Ender continues to think of employment as insecure and expects layoffs—temporary or permanent—to come at any time. There are good reasons for his suspicion. Since Boston has not experienced the large immigration of Negroes that has taken place elsewhere, Italians occupy a "lower" position in the Boston labor market—and in the city's division of labor—than they do in New York, Chicago, and other large cities.¹⁴ Moreover, they work in

¹⁴ See, for example, Irvin L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943; and Nathan Glazer, *Peoples of New York*, forthcoming.

more marginal industries, where layoffs, the disappearance of jobs, and the closing down of firms are not unusual. West Enders also told me that discrimination against Italians still occurs occasionally.

These conditions help to define the West Ender's attitude toward work. Work is thought of as a necessary expenditure of time and energy for the purpose of making a living, and, if possible, for increasing the pleasure of life outside the job. Thus, West Enders work to make money, and they want to make money to spend on themselves, the family, and the peer group. Since most of them must work for other people, their jobs often take them outside the peer group society and the community. It is for this reason that I have classified work as part of the outside world.

For the West Ender, work means manual labor, and the expenditure of physical energy under frequently unpleasant working conditions. Nonmanual jobs are not considered to require work. Thus, white-collar people are described as not really working, but as being able "to sit on their can." Similarly, executive and supervisory work is seen as consisting of giving orders and talking, neither of which is considered work by voluble West Enders.

The ideal job is thought of as one that pays the most money for the least physical discomfort, avoids strenuous or "dirty" physical labor, demands no emotional involvement, such as "taking the job home with you," requires no submission to arbitrary authority, and provides compatible companions at work. Taxing and dirty jobs are associated with the parental generation. West Enders today feel that such jobs should go to Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and immigrants who have recently arrived from Italy. They do not, however, reject physical labor as such, especially if other working conditions are pleasant. Some of the young West Enders, for example, who work in the food markets of the North End spoke with satisfaction of the unregimented nature of their work, and of the ability to see friends and continue the peer group conversations during working hours.

Indeed, West Enders expect to work hard, and they derive satisfaction from doing a good job. Although they may talk freely about the pleasures of loafing, a few days' illness or a vacation

spent at home quickly convinces them that life without work would be unbearable. Because most West Enders work in small firms, and because they do not find it easy to accept authority of any kind, one of the most important criteria for job satisfaction is having a good boss. The good boss treats his employees as close to equals as possible, works hard himself, and does not unduly exert his authority, especially in matters unrelated to work. As the West Ender's most intimate contact with the outside world is with the boss, his behavior is thus watched closely. Should he act unreasonably, he will quickly lose his employee's respect and good will. Further, should the West Ender feel that he is being exploited, he will exploit his employer in turn wherever and whenever he can—short of losing his job.

The expectation of exploitation comes most often from those working in large firms, and, when it does occur, considerable satisfaction is derived from fighting back. One West Ender, who had once worked as a sweeper in a company that cleaned office buildings, spent considerable time in "goofing off," and methodically violating the rules set by management, because the wages were low, and the union was in a strong position. He intimated that the pleasure of his revenge reimbursed him for the poor wages. During the war, he also had worked in a government-owned defense installation, and described the ways in which his colleagues stole time or materials from the government. Mainly because the federal government had done nothing to exploit him, he had not participated in this activity. He was highly critical, however, of the hasty cleanups that took place when visiting dignitaries came to the plant, and tried his best to minimize his share of what he considered to be fraudulent activity. A younger West Ender, who had recently been mustered out of the Army, took great pride in the wholesale evasion of work and rejection of authority he practiced against the Army to get even for being separated from his friends in the West End.

Even when work is well paid and satisfying, the West Ender will try to minimize any involvement in it beyond that required

of him. Work is a means to an end, never an end in itself. At best, single-minded dedication to work is thought to be strange, and, at worst, likely to produce ulcers, heart trouble, and the possibility of an early death.

Thus while the West Ender has developed skills which he seeks to practice, and in which he takes some pride, notions of a career are still rare. Indeed, the difference between the West Ender and the middle-class person is perhaps nowhere greater than in this attitude toward the career. The idea that work can be a central purpose in life, and that it should be organized into the series of related jobs that make a career is virtually nonexistent among the second generation.

This is best illustrated with respect to professionalism. Middle-class professionals see themselves as striving to bring their own activity into line with an idealized conception of their calling and to refine their work method so as to be professionals in the best sense of the word. Although a few West Enders have moved into professional occupations—especially in law and accountancy—their work is devoted less to the achievement of professional perfection and recognition from fellow professionals than to the application of skills—and contacts—in behalf of the peer group society. Thus, lawyers become politicians and agents of the Italian community in the outside world. Consequently, their legal practice consists primarily of cases to help Italian clients get what is theirs from the outside world. They also use their legal skills and contacts for business dealings. But while these lawyers do want to maximize both income and status, their primary reference group is still the peer group society. As a result, they are person-oriented service agents, and have no desire to be object-oriented practitioners of "the law." It should be noted, of course, that as "the law" is largely in the hands of high-status individuals of Yankee Protestant origin, lawyers of Italian or other ethnic origin have little access to the more prestigious types of legal practice, even should they want these.

Similar orientations can be found among other Italian pro-

fessionals. The singer, for example, aims to achieve a personal style of delivery, rather than technical virtuosity. The artist and writer want to portray their society to the outside world, and to come to terms with both of them personally. Thus, most of the novels written about Italian-American life are at least partly autobiographical. The photographer works for "effects" that will please the client. In short, all of them give lower priority to the formal esthetic and technical concepts of their craft.

The attitudes that stand out most clearly among the first Italians to enter the professions are present among other workers as well. For example, as most of the semiprofessional people came to their work without the educational background usually associated with it, they have a less secure foothold in their occupation than middle-class colleagues. As a result, they are less embued with the beliefs and goals of their craft. The only West Enders who could be said to think in terms of a career were lawyer-politicians. Yet, even they were quite ambivalent about pursuing politics as a career and were not sure that they wanted to advance on the rungs of the political ladder. It should be noted, however, that the insecurity of political life does not encourage career aspirations.

People who work in low-skill white collar jobs, or in blue-collar ones, cannot really begin to think in career terms. Such thinking assumes the existence of broad opportunities and a moderate assurance of job security. I have already noted that West Enders believe, with some justification, that jobs are scarce and that job security is nonexistent. With luck an individual may get one job that he can define as good, but this is not likely to happen twice in a row. Even workers with specific skills do not expect that they will always be able to find jobs in which they can practice them.

The lack of identification with work is hardly surprising. Second-generation Italians, it must be remembered, were raised by parents whose occupational skills and choices were few, and for whom work usually mean backbreaking labor at subsistence wages. But although the immigrants encouraged their children to escape

this kind of work—if they needed any encouragement—they had no reason or precedent to urge them toward any identification with work, or to expect any satisfactions from it. Unlike the Jews who came to America with something approaching middle-class occupational aspirations and who passed them on to their children, the Italians had only a tradition of farm labor with no hope for anything else. And given the conditions they encountered in America, it would have been foolhardy for the immigrants to encourage their children to seek emotional involvement in work. Instead, they prepared them to work hard, and to accept job loss and temporary unemployment as inevitable.

The second generation, in turn, encourages its children to equip themselves for better jobs, and urges them to get as much education as they can for this purpose. Although West Enders are interested in job mobility for their children, they have not yet begun to encourage career thinking, for they have not had the job security that would enable them to do so. The children listen to the parental urgings about education, but they also observe the attitudes toward work that are expressed all around them day after day, and they share the group's lack of interest in thinking about the future. Parents are disappointed if their children announce that they will not continue their education beyond the legal minimum, and that they have no interest in better jobs than their parents', but this disappointment is not intense. After all, work is not a fundamental purpose in life, and if they have gotten along, so will their children.

West Enders are employees more from necessity than choice. Indeed, the peer group society, by developing people who compete with each other for emotional satisfaction within the group, tends to encourage what Miller and Swanson have called "entrepreneurial personalities."¹⁵ Because of this, many West Enders are predisposed to self-employment—an attitude they share with many other ethnic and working-class groups.

¹⁵ Daniel B. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent*, New York: Wiley and Sons, 1958, Chap. 2.

The desire for self-employment is also closely related to the West Ender's conception of work. As already noted, work means manual labor, and self-employment may permit him to make more money without such labor. Also, the self-employed person does not have to take orders; he is independent and free from authority. Moreover, he may even be able to limit his contact with the outside world, and, if he cannot do so, he has considerable opportunity to exploit it, and to get even for the actual or imagined exploitation to which the peer group society is exposed. One self-employed West Ender described with glee the satisfaction he derives from creating "short cuts" in his work that are not visible to his customers, but that give him the feeling that he is putting something over on them.

The hostility toward the outside world also allows the West Ender to condone illegal work activities. Consequently, little disapproval is expressed toward gamblers, and even racketeers, as long as their activities do not hurt the peer group society. Thus, West Enders usually had only words of praise for a well-known gambler—one of the wealthiest men in the West End—because he gave lavishly to local organizations and to charities. And while the boot-leggers and racketeers who had lived in the area during the days of prohibition were not praised, even they were thought to have done no harm, because their illegal activities had been aimed at the outside world, and their violence had been restricted to their own associates and competitors. Since the parents of West Enders made their own wine for family use—in the bathrooms and cellars of their tenements—they also had little sympathy for the prohibition laws that forbade this activity.

The preference for self-employment, however, still stops far short of entrepreneurial ambition. West Enders have little capital, and not much interest in risk-taking. They say that when a Jew goes out of business, he will open another place and try again, but that an Italian, in the same circumstances, will go to work for someone else. Entrepreneurial activity, unless it is a group venture, invites failure or success, both of which are likely to separate the individual from the peer group. Also, whereas the immigrant gen-

eration saved its money to buy land or an apartment building, their children, who have embraced American standards of living, find it difficult to save. Moreover, as they are not imbued with peasant values, the ownership of land as an end in itself has less meaning to them. Apartment buildings can no longer be bought cheaply, and West Enders have no desire to become landlords or their own janitors, a kind of work that is considered to be undesirable.

Consequently, self-employment opportunities that require little capital and allow the owner to use family members are preferred, and the West Enders naturally gravitate toward service functions. Opening a garage is sometimes mentioned, as are services that involve display or the management of display of others—being a barber, for example, or a tailor, or owning a clothing store. Running a luncheonette or a restaurant is still liked, partly because the owner can have peer group company on the job. Contracting, on the other hand, once a popular avenue for self-employment among Italians, now requires too much capital; and grocery store ownership lost its attractiveness with the coming of the supermarkets.

Most of the talk about escaping employee status, however, is at the level of dreams rather than goals. Few West Enders are either able or willing to think about such a change in status. In effect, work is simply not that important. And as the small owner becomes more and more marginal, even the dreams about self-employment become more infrequent, and are not passed on to the next generation.

Work, of course, is entirely a male pursuit. Husbands do not want their wives to work after marriage, nor do the women themselves. They are expected to be ready to work if the husband is laid off, or if the family budget requires their help. I encountered no women who worked because they wanted to, however, or because they wished to obtain money for individual and family luxuries, or for that matter, because they wanted to compete with their husbands for economic mastery of the household. Even childless wives preferred to be housewives and aunts. For the women, then, work itself holds even fewer attractions than it does for the men.

Education

West End children can go either to the parochial or public elementary schools, but most of them must go to the public ones for their high-school education. Although their parents prefer parochial to public institutions, the distinction that is of most significance to them and that creates uncertainty about schooling is between person-oriented and object-oriented education. Person-oriented education teaches children rules of behavior appropriate to the adult peer group society, and stresses discipline. This is identified with the parochial school. Object-oriented education teaches them aspirations and skills for work, play, family life, and community participation.¹⁶ Rightly or wrongly, this type of education is identified with the public school. It is also the source of West End ambivalence, and accounts for the placement of education in the outside world.

On the one hand, West Enders do recognize that education is needed to obtain employment, and urge the children to get as much schooling as is required for a secure skilled blue-collar or white-collar job. On the other hand, parents are suspicious that education will estrange the children from them, and from the peer group society as well. Consequently, they are somewhat fearful about the public education to which the children are exposed in high school.

These fears are best illustrated by the West Enders' conception of the public-school teacher. They see her as a woman who has little interest in teaching, and who is more concerned with making money, chasing men, or "boozing" after hours. As one West Ender pointed out, the nun who teaches in the parochial school is unpaid, and her work is motivated solely by religious dedication. Consequently, her life is limited to teaching and prayer, and she is likely

¹⁶ In some ways, this is the traditional Southern Italian peasant distinction between "buon educato," being well-mannered or well brought-up, and "buono istruito," being well-instructed in book learning, which was considered of little importance. R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949, p. 242.

to be in bed by 9 P.M. The public-school teacher, however, is either working at an extra job, or drinking in a tavern during the evening hours when she should be resting or preparing herself for the next day's teaching. Therefore, she is not fit to teach self-control to the children, and is thought to be too tired even to keep order.

This fantastic conception stems partly from the public-school's reputation as a haven for incorrigibles who cannot accept parochial discipline.¹⁷ It also reflects the considerable social distance between the West Ender and the school. Public-school officials claimed that parents took little interest in their children and even less in the school. Over the years, several attempts to develop Home and School associations in the West End failed because only a few parents showed up. As might be expected, the parents of children with scholastic or behavioral difficulties were least likely to come to school, whereas those whose children were doing well did take an interest.

Parental lack of interest in the school is a function of the segregation between adults and children in the adult-centered family, a process that begins just about the time that the child starts attending school, and that increases with age. The public school is keyed, of course, to the child-centered family in which parents do involve themselves in their children's lives; the parochial school accepts the adult-centered family, and does not expect or encourage parental participation, except when the child gets into trouble.

From the parents' perspective, then, education is useful only for behavior training and for obtaining a job. They see no need for subject matter that does not contribute directly to this aim. As one skilled worker told me: "What good is archeology in a mechanical arts high school? You want to learn it if you're a teacher, but not for other things. I am a working man." Some West Enders are not yet convinced that additional schooling will be useful even occupationally. For example, they point out that depressions and layoffs take no notice of education, and that whom you know rather than

¹⁷ This is ironic, because I noted earlier that public-school principals found their students to be surprisingly quiet and well-behaved.

what you know is still the key to occupational success in many places. This attitude is voiced mainly by those who are satisfied with their own occupational achievements. Other West Enders, especially those who are not satisfied with their jobs, and those in white-collar positions, realize only too clearly that they would have done better had they been able to stay in school beyond the elementary grades or the first years of high school. Most West Enders of the present generation, however, had little choice in the matter, for they were expected to go to work as early as possible. It is these people who urge their children to finish high school.

By and large, full-blown skepticism as to the value of education now centers on college attendance, especially at a private liberal arts school, which West Enders consider to be playgrounds for the idle rich. They delight in telling stories of college-educated people who hold jobs no better than their own, or who are total failures. One story, for example, concerns a West End "character" with several university degrees who now makes a living by scavenging through area garbage. The implications of the story are clear: college education does not assure occupational success, and over-education may lead to mental illness. Yet the same people who tell such stories will also speak of their hopes that their boys will continue their education after high school so as to get a better job. At the same time, they sense that college attendance can estrange parents and children. Consequently, they question the desirability of a liberal arts or academic education, explaining that "college is only for the very brightest boy." Indeed, academic skill is viewed as a kind of virtuosity, much like musical ability and is thought to be desirable—and attainable—only for the rare youngster who is intellectually gifted. Lower-class West Enders, on the other hand, retain some of the traditional hostility toward the high school and consider it as keeping the child from going to work at the earliest opportunity.

Attitude differences also exist between mothers and fathers, and between their aspirations for boys and for girls. Generally, mothers are more favorably inclined toward the school, partly because of their concern that the child learn behavior control. Fathers,

however, are less interested in behavior control, and are more fearful that boys will become "sissies or girl scouts" if they become too identified with the ways of the school. Moreover, since most of the teachers are women, fathers see education as a feminine undertaking that might endanger their boys' maleness.

Girls are thought to need less education than boys, since they will get married soon after leaving school. Responsibility for the girl's educational decision is therefore left up to the mother. If the girl does well in school, she has her mother's approval to continue as long as she wishes; and, if family finances permit it, her father's silent acquiescence. But the father is primarily interested in the boy's education. If a boy does not do well in school, and wants to drop out, he is likely to get support from his father, especially should the latter be satisfied with his own occupational fortunes. His mother may object, but will probably resign herself to the alliance of father and son. Whenever possible, West End parents will express their doubts and negative feelings about education only in adult company. As they have enough respect for the value of schooling as a means to occupational success, they try to speak only favorably of it to the children.

Despite these parental efforts, many of the children do not take to education. Even though family finances permit them to stay, they often drop out of school at the earliest opportunity. The general picture drawn by the school officials with whom I spoke was that the majority of children displayed little interest in learning, that many had learning difficulties, and that even more were waiting only to reach the legal school-leaving age. The West End principals estimated that about half of the students—from all ethnic groups and class levels in the area—completed senior high school. During the 1950's, 3 to 5 per cent of the junior high-school graduates had been sent to Boston Latin, the city's college preparatory senior high school, but only some of these eventually got to college. The junior-high-school principal's main problem was truancy, and the parental acquiescence concerning this. Boys were more likely to be truant than girls, and to be poorer students as well.

The reasons for the failure to respond to education—especially

on the part of boys—can be found in the influence of the peer group society. Success in school depends to some extent on student motivation, and this is largely absent. In part, this lack can be traced to the parental ambivalence about the usefulness of education, and to the absence of books and other intellectual stimuli in the home. Class differences between student and teacher are also crucial. But other factors come into play even before the child is old enough to develop motivation for school learning. For one thing, educational achievement depends largely on the ability to absorb and manipulate concepts, to handle the reasoning processes embedded in the lesson and the text, and to concentrate on these methods to the exclusion of other concerns. West End children are adept at none of them.

The peer group society trains its members to be sensitive to people, rather than to ideas. Words are used, not as concepts, but to impress people, and argument proceeds by the use of anecdotes rather than by the common sense forms of logic. The rhythm of peer group life, the impulsive approach to child-rearing, the stress on the episodic—whether in the form of action or anecdote—and the competitive nature of peer group conversation—all encourage a short attention span. It is this very shortness of attention and the inability to concentrate that seem to accompany, if not cause, many of the learning difficulties. Certainly it is not a lack of native or acquired intelligence. For even in their early years, West End children—like children everywhere—are sensitive to the ins and outs of interaction with parents, and they quickly learn how to use words and acts to bend people to their wishes.

The school also conflicts with the many and opposing attractions of the children's peer groups. In fact, it tries to break up these groups, although not always consciously, and expects the children to act as independent individuals. But as many are either unable or unwilling to act in this way, they respond with passivity. The moment they leave the school building and the teacher's control, they coalesce quickly into peer groups to spend the afternoon learning the lore of the streets.

Neither children nor teachers get much help from parents. Most

of them, having left school before the tenth grade, find the material strange. Although parents tell their children to learn, and to do homework, there are still people like one West Ender who castigated his eight-year-old daughter for wanting to go to the library again after just having been there the previous day. Bright children are encouraged by their teachers, but have peer group difficulties, unless they can find like-minded colleagues. I was told that this had been much easier before the Jews moved out of the West End, since the occasional Italian who was interested in learning then could have attached himself to a Jewish group, at least through elementary school age.

For the child with learning difficulties, school is probably a real torture. By the time this child has reached adolescence, he usually has accepted his handicap with sullen passivity. But as soon as the activities of the peer group are stepped up, and require more pocket money, there is little incentive to stay in school. Thus, if the parents permit it—and even if they do not—the teenager may become a habitual truant until he reaches the school-leaving age. His departure from school is experienced as a release from prison. Later on, when these boys become aware of the limited choice of jobs to which their decision to leave school has sentenced them, they wish they had remained to graduate. But then it is too late.¹⁸ Actually, the drop-outs that occur at the legal school-leaving age are only a formality, the outcome of factors that have estranged such boys from school for many years prior to their physical departure.

The people who staffed the West End schools seemed to be resigned to the students' lack of interest in education. I should explain here that I spoke only to principals, but not to any teachers, and that my observations are limited by this gap in my research. Nor was I able to evaluate the quality of the teachers, although I was told by people inside and outside of the West End that most

¹⁸ It would be highly desirable if a far-sighted government allowed these youngsters to leave school when they wanted to and provided them with scholarships and subsistence for their families so that they could return to school when they became so motivated in their mid-twenties.

of them were older women who were serving out their years in the system without much enthusiasm for or understanding of their students. Whether or not this judgment is accurate, it is true that there was little incentive for a bright young teacher to work in the West End, since it was known as a slum area by the average Bostonian.

I was able to interview two of the three public school principals in the area. One, who had been in the West End school only a few years, liked his students and accepted their lack of interest in learning with stoic resignation. He prided himself on being one of the first Irish Catholics to become a principal—the Boston public school system is still largely under Yankee Protestant control—and looked back nostalgically on the intellectual rewards of teaching in a predominantly Jewish school before becoming a principal. He also looked forward to the redevelopment of the West End, with the expectation that the new student body would be more interested in education.

The other principal, with a similar social and ethnic background, had been in the West End for many years, and had adapted himself to the values of his students. He argued that occupational success was to be ranked above learning, for, as he put it, "dollars are more important than IQ's." He also noted that some of his poorest students had gone on to well-paying jobs, or now owned profitable enterprises. Both principals, aware of the cultural differences between school and students, viewed these as problems residing in the latter, and in the economic position of the students' parents. Both were also surprised but grateful that their charges provided no serious discipline problems.

Yet the picture is not as black as I have painted it here. The third generation does stay in school much longer than the second generation, if only because students do not have to leave to support their families, and because child-labor laws, as well as changes in the labor market entrance age, have encouraged their staying in school. This is especially true of the girls, who not only remain in school longer, but seem to absorb more of its offerings. The girls find it easier to identify with the female teacher than the boys, and,

as noted earlier, receive more encouragement from their mothers to stay in school. In addition, the school culture is more congruent with the routine-seeking working-class culture norms that mothers defend and pass on to their daughters, and with the functions girls perform at home. They are expected to learn to sew, cook, and help in child-care—duties that are more akin to school requirements than are the peer group activities of boys as they roam the streets. The girls may not go on to college after they graduate, but they are more likely to work in a store or office until marriage, while their brothers will probably gravitate to blue-collar jobs. The girls who do go to college often find husbands there and leave areas like the West End. Since the number of mobile girls exceeds that of boys, I suspect that some of the girls have trouble finding a husband in the Italian group and will intermarry or stay single as a result. Neither is considered desirable by the peer group society. Boys who go to college also may fail to return to the West End, but they are much less likely to shed West End associates and ways of behaving. Even if they work in the middle-class world, they often revert to the style of the peer group society when they come home at night—to the chagrin of their wives.

Early marriage may abort college even when the desire and the financial resources are present. This was illustrated dramatically by the son of a well-to-do West Ender who had made plans to attend law school at one of the better universities in the Northeast. His plans were interrupted by marriage, however, and he decided instead to go to a local night law school. The middle-class practice of being supported by his family or his wife while in school was out of the question. After marriage, he went to work as a law clerk and his wife stayed home; occupational aspirations were quickly relegated to a lower priority, and seemingly without regrets.

Medical Care and Health

Medical care is another necessary function for which the West Ender must go into the outside world, at least in cases of serious illness. Minor ailments are treated by patent medicines and home

remedies. These represent a modern folk medicine that has largely replaced the Italian equivalent brought over by the immigrants.¹⁹

The care of more serious illness has been classified as part of the outside world for two reasons. First, since there are no doctors in the peer group society, West Enders must use outsiders. Second, their conceptions of illness and care differ from those of the doctors. Consequently, the West Enders have not embraced the latter's medical care wholeheartedly. Rather, they have resigned themselves to it because they have none of their own. They accept it with some hesitation and suspicion, and this in turn affects their attitude toward doctors, as well as the nature and efficiency of the care process.

Medical care in the West End was provided by two sets of outsiders, the local practitioners and the Massachusetts General Hospital. While the hospital was held in affectionate regard by many West Enders, it was nevertheless viewed as part of the outside world, mainly because of its affiliation with Harvard University, and the absence of Italian doctors on the staff. West Enders used the hospital freely, especially its out-patient clinics, but they perceived the hospital as an organization of extremely high status, endowed with economic and political influence of gargantuan proportions. Its high status image stemmed from its association with Harvard, which is regarded as a university for the upper class. Since few West Enders have attended Harvard, or know anyone who has, they consider it as totally inaccessible, and regard it with a mixture of respect and suspicion. The hospital's power was ascribed to the presence of many of Boston's social and power elite on the board of trustees and administrative staff, and to its success in obtaining West End land and other privileges from the city. For example, West Enders noted wryly that whereas they were ticketed frequently for parking violations, hospital staff members had only to go down to the police station to register their license

¹⁹ I did not collect any data on the number of Italian home remedies still being used by the West Enders, or on the proportion of illnesses which are treated without the aid of a doctor.

plate numbers in order to avoid this. The hospital also was thought to have had considerable influence in the decision to redevelop the West End, and some people were sure that the area was really being cleared for hospital expansion and parking lots. Although their view of the hospital's status and influence was somewhat exaggerated, it was essentially accurate.

Most of the time, West Enders turned to the local practitioners for their medical care. These were older men, most of them Jewish—and none Italian—who had been born in the West End or had come to it when it was predominantly Jewish. Although they had taken part in the Jewish residential exodus, they had also kept their practices in the area. One of the few who had not moved his home lived in a huge townhouse on the best street in the West End and was probably the area's last owner-occupant of a free-standing house.

The local doctors continued to practice in the West End because they had become accustomed to their patients and were not highly motivated—or skilled enough in the latest techniques—to set up a new practice amidst younger and mobile people. They provided medical care in a fairly authoritarian manner, treating their patients almost as children who could not be expected to understand their own illness or the treatment for it. This approach is in sharp contrast to a middle-class practice, where the patient is treated as a more active participant in the care process, is informed about the diagnosis and the methods of care, and may even be told when the doctor is uncertain as to either the diagnosis or the efficacy of the treatment.

The West End doctor derived much economic and emotional security from his authoritarian role, but it was not entirely a matter of his own choosing. The West Enders came to the office with their own beliefs about illness and medical care and with a considerable lack of confidence in the medical profession. Their suspicions in turn led the doctor to command in an omniscient and dogmatic style, hoping thereby to persuade his patients to follow his recommendations for treatment.

The West Enders view illness as resulting either from a breakdown in self-control, or from conditions beyond the individual's control. The first type is thought to require self- or group-inflicted punishment as part of the treatment. In the second type of illness, the doctor's services may be used, but the possibility of a cure rests to a considerable extent on the workings of fate.

Psychosomatic and mental illness are attributed to lack of self-control. Ailments such as ulcers and high blood pressure, which seem to occur frequently, are ascribed to "hot-bloodedness." Hot blood is conceived as a physiological characteristic of Italians, which is not easily amenable to self-control. Heart attacks, however, are thought to be the result of overwork that is brought on by the inability to control ambition. Mental illness, whether expressed by deviant behavior or depression, is thought to stem from the individual's unwillingness to control his impulses, and is described in moral, rather than pathological, language.

As the lack of self-control is considered a personal failing, treatment thus must be punishing as well as therapeutic. For example, an ulcer patient with whom I talked refused to follow the diet prescribed by his doctor. He felt it would do no good, and that a more painful treatment—he did not specify what—would be needed. Although deviant behavior may be described as illness by West Enders, they reject any treatment of it that does not include strict punishment, especially if the act should be in any way anti-social. For example, depression is at first treated with sympathy, but should the individual fail to respond, he is then punished by social isolation.

Illnesses and disabilities such as respiratory diseases, cancer, arthritis, or broken bones are not thought to result from lack of self-control. Some illnesses are ascribed to the negative effects of the outside world. For example, many of the heart attacks and deaths among elderly people in the area were ascribed to the shock of redevelopment, thereby justifying West Enders to accuse the city administration of murder.

The cure of uncontrollable diseases is assigned to the removal of hostile forces in the outside world, to fate, and, last and least, to

the doctor. West Enders will call the doctor, and expect him to deliver a cure, but they are skeptical that he can meet their expectations. If they do recover, the doctor's role is acknowledged grudgingly, but someone is sure to voice the suspicion that his treatment had nothing to do with it. Should the illness continue, people suspect that fate has willed it so, and that doctors are unable to provide proper treatment.

Such attitudes allow West Enders to postpone or even to avoid treatment of serious illness. Frightened of hospitals and even more so of operations, they will cite cases of people who have died on the operating table, usually because of medical incompetence. Fatalism reinforces their skepticism. One of my neighbors, for example, a factory worker, had suffered a head injury on the job. He had then gone to the hospital for an examination, was told that his injury might be serious enough to require an operation, and was given an appointment for further treatment. He failed to keep the appointment, however, and, although he suffered from recurring headaches, did not go back to the doctor. The fear of an operation and his fatalistic assumption that if his condition was serious, nothing could be done, prevailed over arguments—mine included—to get him to make another hospital visit.

Milder illnesses, especially those that are experienced by members of the peer group at the same time, such as viral infections, are not associated with fate. A doctor is called to treat influenza, for example, but once recovery is achieved, his role is minimized. People point out that he merely administers penicillin, and thus credit is given more to the magic of the wonder drug than to the doctor.

The West Ender's fatalism in the face of illness is due neither to superstition or helplessness. Indeed, the fabled belief in the evil eye that his parents brought over from Italy no longer exists. Fate is rather a reflection of a determined universe, the sacred portion of which is controlled by God, the secular portion by the powers-that-be of the outside world. It is this belief in fate that allows the West Ender to face illness and even death with resignation when there is little chance for recovery, and that softens the blow for his

survivors, allowing them to continue to function. It is not an exclusively pessimistic belief, however, for the fatalistic attitude also permits the possibility of recovery, and explicitly recognizes the fact that sick people sometimes do get well without medical care. But although the West Ender is healthier than his parents or his Italian ancestors, physical or emotional breakdowns, serious injuries at work, and early deaths still do happen frequently and suddenly enough to justify the persistence of the traditional fatalism.

Thus the doctor plays a marginal role in medical care. West Enders do not like to consult him in the first place, and when they do, they have difficulty in describing their symptoms. Moreover, they may ignore his recommendations and fail to fill the prescriptions he gives them, especially when these are costly. Often he is described with considerable hostility as a man who takes poor people's money without exerting much physical effort or offering any sympathy. West Enders are not convinced that he is really working, for he does not like to make house calls, and even when he does come, he only prescribes rest, or gives shots. For this he collects fees that strike the West Ender—who has little contact with any other kind of fee-charging professional—as much too high. Actually, the fee for a house-call and a shot of penicillin was \$4 in 1958. But since the doctor is extremely rich by area standards, West Enders still suspect that they are being exploited. Thus they love to tell scandalous stories about free-spending doctors, and about patients who were not helped by them, or who improved without ever calling one of them.

In many ways attitudes toward the doctor are similar to those toward the public-school teacher. The doctor is expected to be a selfless and monastically dedicated individual who should guarantee results but should not earn more money than the average West Ender. In short, he is expected to be a saint. Were he a member of the peer group society, these specifications would no doubt be reduced, but precisely because he is not, West Enders set an impossibly high moral standard by which to judge him, and thus to

control his behavior. His inability to live up to sainthood creates and justifies their hostility and rejection.

The doctor-patient relationship therefore is incredibly difficult. Middle-class doctors who seek to incorporate the West Ender into the treatment process find that they cannot get a reliable account for their diagnosis, and that their recommendations are frequently ignored. For this reason, local doctors have resigned themselves to a detached role; they neither confide in the patient, nor expect him to obey their prescriptions. As class differences add to the conflict of expectations, there is little feedback between patient and doctor. This in turn only increases patient hostility and lack of confidence. Not only do few practitioners know how to overcome the obstacles to communication, but fewer still have any incentive to do so.

Suggestions for Further Reading

CONRAD M. ARENSBERG and SOLON T. KIMBALL, *Family and Community in Ireland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940). A fascinating description and analysis of family patterns and social life among farm families in County Clare, Ireland, a quarter-century ago.

HERBERT H. HYMAN, "The Value System of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., *Class, Status, and Power* (New York: Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442. This important paper compares the various social classes with respect to different values. Especially important are the findings pertaining to class differences in the acceptance of success goals and in the belief in the accessibility of such goals in American society.

JANE JACOBS, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961). While an attack on current city planning and rebuilding, it is at the same time a highly provocative analysis of city life in America.

WILLIAM F. WHYTE, JR., *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, 2nd ed., 1955). One of the "classics" in the field of sociology. It is concerned with the Italian community in the North End of Boston, near the community of West Enders studied by Gans.

*Blue-Collar Marriage**

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

In 1960, according to the census of that year, middle-class families constituted about 27% of the population of the United States; working-class or "blue-collar" families—in which the breadwinners were skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled manual workers—made up approximately 54% of the population.¹ Most studies of marriage in American society have been concerned with the middle-class group, especially the college-educated segment of it. Investigations of working-class marriages have usually focused on families beset with serious problems, such as crime and delinquency. In the book *Blue-Collar Marriage*, Mirra Komarovsky reports the results of her study of marriage in what might be considered "normal" working-class families. Using a "case-study" method of inquiry into 58 marriages, she sought to provide a basis for comparing working-class and middle-class marital patterns, and, ultimately, to discover those patterns that might be regarded as "universal" to family life in our society.

Komarovsky selected her sample of blue-collar families from a community she calls "Glenton," situated about five miles from a city of some half-million persons, and about twenty miles from a large metropolis. Since Komarovsky wanted to isolate the influence upon

* From *Blue-Collar Marriage* by Mirra Komarovsky. Copyright © 1964 by Random House, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1963, p. 231.

marriage of social class, she tried to select a group comparable in race, religion, and nativity to groups studied by previous investigators, but differing in education, occupation, and income. Her sample was to be as homogeneous as possible: "All [respondents] were to be white, native born of native parents, Protestant, not over 40 years of age, and parents of at least one child. Only blue-collar workers were to be included. The highest level of education was set at four years of high school."²

The main source of respondents was the Glenton city directory, which gave the names, addresses, and occupations of all males heading a family, as well as the names of their wives. From the directory was drawn a list of all persons who appeared to qualify by virtue of occupation and of residence in a working-class neighborhood; Polish, Jewish, Irish, and Italian names were eliminated on the ground that they probably stood for non-Protestants. An interview with each family led to further elimination of subjects falling outside the age, ethnic, and other requirements of the desired sample. This procedure yielded 41 cases; an additional 17 were then obtained from the membership lists of five Protestant churches in the community. The final selection of 58 families corresponded closely to the initial specifications for the make-up of the sample.

The purpose of using the case-study method was to make the investigation as intensive and exhaustive as could be managed. Surveys using a fixed apparatus of identical questionnaires or identically patterned interviews for recording subjects' verbal responses are suitable for obtaining a necessarily limited amount of information from very large numbers of persons. But the case study is a method for collecting information in depth. Whatever the subject—person, group, community, situation, incident—the case-study worker, through both preplanned and impromptu techniques of inquiry and observation, tries to find out everything he can that will shed light on the question under study. The procedure of

² Komarovsky, p. 9.

Komarovsky and her associates was to conduct lengthy interviews with both husband and wife in each of the families selected. The interviews took place in the homes of the subjects, and the minimum time given to interviewing each family was six hours. Many significant aspects of marital attitude and behavior were explored in the time available, from relations between the marriage partners to the ways the couple related to friends and relatives outside the marriage.

The selection from *Blue-Collar Marriage* reprinted here deals with what Komarovsky found working-class husbands and wives expect from marriage. From each marriage partner were elicited reactions to two stories—one about a woman complaining that her husband refuses to talk to her when he comes home from work, the other about a man complaining that his wife "gabs" too much with her mother. In her analysis of their responses, Komarovsky is interested in determining the attitudes of working-class couples to friendship and companionship in marriage; using her knowledge of the respondents' educational, religious, and family backgrounds, she also tries to relate their responses to the middle-class "norm."

The major weakness of Komarovsky's work is in the selection of the study sample. Desiring a sample of families meeting several criteria, Komarovsky chose to eliminate persons with certain names, persons not living in working-class neighborhoods, and so forth. This makes it very difficult to ascertain exactly what universe her sample has been selected from. The problem is further magnified by her inclusion of persons from the membership lists of five Protestant churches. One must, therefore, be hesitant in "generalizing" from these results to blue-collar families in general.

While the study has this one important weakness, it also has several notable strengths. First, obtaining interviews from both husbands and wives is a procedure employed too infrequently in research on family life. Second, the employment of stories as semi-projective techniques allowed her to obtain more intimate information about working-class marriages than she could have gathered using only focused interview methods. Komarovsky's use

of these projective techniques—which allow the investigator to study people's motives, values, attitudes, and emotions by somehow getting them to "project" these internal states onto external objects (such as the individuals in the two stories)—adds considerable strength to her study. The richly detailed portrait of blue-collar marriage that Komarovsky's data enabled her to draw well illustrates the usefulness of the case-study technique in sociological research.

The Marriage Dialogue: Expectations

"Among the many curious features of modern woman's life," states a recent book on women, "is one that would have thoroughly offended St. Paul, bewildered Tristan, and amused Don Juan—namely, the fact that she is her husband's best friend and he is hers."¹ To the traditional functions of marriage, such as sexual, reproductive, child-rearing and economic, modern society has added that of companionship. We expect that a married person will be his mate's closest confidant, with whom he will share his deepest feelings and thoughts. The romantic ideal calls for completeness of communication—no secrets from the mate. It implies also that the secrets of marriage must not be disclosed to outsiders.

These values of primacy and privacy of marital communications are illustrated in the words of a college senior, recently engaged. The young woman made a deliberate effort, after her engagement, to become more reserved with her mother. "I wanted," she explained, "to feel closer to John than to Mother, so that when we are all together I would exchange a look of understanding with him and not with her." The same values are reflected in a remark of a college-educated mother of a recently married daughter. "I wouldn't tell my daughter anything that had to be kept secret from her husband. It is important for a young couple to feel close and united."

¹ Morton M. Hunt, *Her Infinite Variety*, New York: Harper and Row, 1962, p. 199.

These values are often said to be characteristic of our society as a whole.² But such a generalization is based upon studies of middle-class couples. Much less is known of the working classes. The ideal of friendship in marriage presupposes a certain equality between the sexes, and is not likely to flourish in a strongly authoritarian family or in a culture that holds women in contempt. Neither will it emerge if the mode of life makes for sharp differences in the interests of men and women. There are other conditions that further and hinder it and we cannot therefore assume that the ideal itself, or its realization in life, is equally characteristic of all segments of our society. Several investigations of the English working classes report considerable psychological distance between husbands and wives. When one married woman in a London study used the word "we," she meant "my mother and I," not "my husband and I."³

[The following pages] will describe what 58 workingmen and their wives ideally expect, and subsequently, what they actually experience in the sphere of communication in marriage. We will study the sharing of deep emotional concerns with the mate, conversation about matters of mutual interest (which might be termed companionable talk), and finally the mate's role in providing emotional support. Although its primary purpose is to describe certain values held by the families, the discussion has a bearing upon the general problem of the acquisition of values. The "anticipatory socialization" of the upwardly mobile, the catalytic role played by personal misfortune, the socializing role of the mate and the influence of social institutions are some processes to be considered in the following pages.

It became apparent early in the interviewing that a sharp difference in ideals of marriage existed in this group of working-

² See, for example, Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family: From Institution to Companionship*, New York: American Book Co., 1953, p. 386.

³ Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, p. 47.

class families. Some couples voiced what has come to be recognized as the dominant modern ideal of friendship. Thus a 27-year-old high school graduate, a truck driver, when asked whether women in his opinion had more need of heart-to-heart talk than men, said, "They both need each other. That's one of the purposes of marriage." To the question, "What helps you to overcome bad moods?" his answer was, "To talk about it with my wife." They made it a point, he said, when they were first married that if something was wrong, they would speak out. If her behavior puzzles him, "I make her clarify it . . . what goes on between my wife and I stays with us. I never talk to anyone about it. I am supposed to be adult; that is part of adult life." Again, a 33-year-old bottler in a beer company (with ten years of schooling) testified: "I can't think of anything my wife and I wouldn't tell each other that we'd tell someone else. I suppose there are some things one doesn't want to be thinking even, and so a husband wouldn't want to talk about it. But anything a husband can talk about, he can talk about to his wife, *at least I think he should* [italics ours]. If I don't get the drift of what she is saying, I'll ask her again, and perhaps over again, until I do understand." And a 27-year-old high school graduate, the wife of a machinist, commented: "If a wife can't talk to her husband [about very personal things], she can't talk to anyone."

Not only are such views not expressed in other interviews, but indeed different attitudes are explicitly stated. For example, asked whether she thought it was in general difficult for a husband to understand his wife, a 28-year-old woman with eight years of schooling, said, "Well, men and women are different. They each go their separate ways. A man does his work and a woman does her work and how can they know what it's all about?" When, after a long series of questions on communication, the interviewer remarked that the wife appeared to talk more easily to her girl friend and to her sister than to her husband, she exclaimed, "But they are girls!" A 21-year-old wife (with ten years of schooling) remarked, "Men are different, they don't feel the same as us. That's the reason men are friends with men, and women have women friends."

We attempted to tap conceptions of marriage by asking for comments on two stories. The first story deals with "companionship talk":

A couple has been married for seven years. The wife says that her husband is a good provider and a good man, but still she complains to her mother about her marriage. She says he comes home, reads the paper, watches T.V., but doesn't talk to her. He says he "doesn't like to gab just for the sake of talking." But she says he is not companionable and has nothing to say to her.—*What do you think of this couple?*

In commenting upon the story, some interviewees referred to their own marriages, identifying with the fictitious couple: "Say, you know, I feel like that guy"; "That's home plate, that's right on the button"; "Why, that's a typical marriage. My husband is a lot like that, so is my cousin's husband and my sister's husband." One man asserted: "If my wife acted like that, I would straighten her out in short order."

Apart from such incidental references to personal experiences, three themes are expressed in the responses to this story. The first theme reflects the view that *the lack of husband-wife conversation in the story presents a genuine problem*. Of the 99 men and women who commented upon this story only 37 per cent took this position. Not all of these blamed the husband—"Does she have anything interesting to say?" Some expressed resignation, while others proposed remedies. But whether pessimistic or "constructive" about the situation, these individuals share the view that it is deplorable:

A 27-year-old wife: "Maybe he is in a rut and needs her help. This girl would think up things to talk about if she had any sense."

A 40-year-old husband: "Looks like they are incompatible. If he never talks to her, they've got it bad, but if he's just that way once in a while, we all are that way sometimes."

A 31-year-old wife: "She should make it interesting enough around the house to get him away from the T.V. and the newspaper; invite people over or find some things like church work or hobbies that they can work at together."

A 31-year-old husband: "Maybe she should talk to him about subjects he knows about or things they have in common."

A 25-year-old husband: "He should listen to her and talk to her. He can't expect her to sit in the house all day and do her job and not have anyone to talk to at night."

A 31-year-old wife: "There is something wrong if he has nothing to talk about. If something is bothering him, he shouldn't hide behind a paper."

A 25-year-old wife: "If that's the way he is, you've got to live with it."

A 29-year-old wife: "That's something like him and me. There is nothing you can do about it except grin and bear it."

A 29-year-old wife: "He gets mad at me sometimes for wanting to talk. I learned to keep my mouth shut—you do that as you get older."

In contrast with these attitudes, another 37 per cent of the group *categorically denied that the wife in the story presents a legitimate grievance*. It is the wife who is criticized for her immaturity and selfishness—by women as well as their husbands, as illustrated below:

A 28-year-old wife: "Gee, can you tie that? He's generous, don't bother her, he just keeps out of the way, and she's fussing and wants him to sit there and entertain her."

A 40-year-old wife: "She isn't busy enough or she'd be glad to have him quiet. She is in clover and don't know it."

A 32-year-old wife: "That woman would have a lot more to complain about if her husband drank or beat her up. The husband is right."

A 38-year-old construction worker: "If you do right by the woman and your job, they owe you a little rest to yourself."

A 28-year-old butcher's assistant: "I don't know what is the matter with some women. Their husbands will come home and wish they could lie down and just forget everything and a woman will come yakity yak about nothing at all until a guy has to go out and get a drink. I don't know what they think their husbands are made of. They work their guts out making a living, trying to get along, and then they come home and their wives want them to be some kind of fancy pants, say silly things to them."

A 33-year-old metalworker: "Some women ain't satisfied no m^tter

what you do. Ah, she makes me sick. A guy comes home, and wants a little bit of quiet and it's bad enough with the kids making a racket; his wife doesn't have to come and gab at him, too. How about her being companionable and not saying nothing? You should dance like a monkey on a string to keep them amused."

A 38-year-old pipefitter: "Oh, for Christ's sake! He ought to shut her up good and hard. Companionable! Let her work in a factory eight hours and be companionable."

A 25-year-old street cleaner: "That one needs the biggest spanking. Still complaining! What's he going to talk to her about, the price of beans?"

A 33-year-old truck driver: "That woman isn't grown up. Does she have to be entertained like a kid?"

A 20-year-old taxi driver: "Ah, that's a terrible thing. I know a whole lot of husbands who would just like to have a little peace and quiet when they get home, and their wives yammer and yammer."

The apparent assumption underlying these irritated outbursts is that the husband himself has little to gain from such evening talks. To talk is either to entertain the wife or to hear her "yammering." It is a concession to her—and one that no mature woman should demand.

Besides the two main types of responses, 11 per cent of the interviewees read into the story a particular situation that . . . is a source of great concern to women: "Maybe the husband's got something on his mind. She should leave him alone." When men appear worried, "poking at them only makes it worse. You let them alone and with time they'll come around."

The second story was intended to tap attitudes towards the primacy and privacy of marital communication:

Mrs. Fox is 26 years old. The Foxes live near Mrs. Fox's mother, and the wife sees her mother daily. Mr. Fox says he has nothing against his mother-in-law, but he doesn't see why his wife has to see her daily. He thinks they gab too much and he doesn't see why his mother-in-law should know what they have for dinner every day and everything else that happens to them. Mrs. Fox says it is natural for a woman to be close to her mother—that the husband is unreasonable.

The responses to this story fall into two types. About a third of the group disapproved of Mrs. Fox's daily talks with her mother on the ground that she *violates the privacy of marriage*.

Husband: "It is not natural to discuss intimate things with the mother. What goes on between husband and wife is nobody's business."

Wife: "You have to draw a line at what you are going to gab about to your mother. You're not going to tell her everything that happens in your married life."

Husband: "What a couple does is its own business."

In contrast to the above response, 63 per cent of the interviewees did not criticize the wife who talked a lot to her mother—at any rate, not for violating conjugal privacy. Unqualified approval is seen in such comments as these:

Husband: "Wife is right. She can always learn something about cooking and other things from an older person."

Husband: "Why shouldn't women talk to their mothers—it would probably do the women good."

Wife: "It's no skin off his nose, but kind of nice all around if they are friendly."

The qualifications cited by these respondents pertain not to violation of privacy, but, often, to interference with the wife's household responsibilities: "As long as she doesn't neglect her house or the kids, why not?" And husbands enter another qualification—that the mother-in-law not use the information to "tear the husband down" or to make trouble: "If mother-in-law doesn't bother husband, I see no reason why they shouldn't talk all they want to"; "Don't know why he raises Cain about a little thing like that unless his mother-in-law makes him trouble." Several husbands—far from expressing jealousy of the mother-in-law and a wish to share in confidences—want to be protected from them. Thus:

Husband: "As long as he don't have to listen to them, and she don't gossip, I don't see what difference it makes."

Husband: "As long as the man isn't around and doesn't hear them. Maybe the husband is mad at his wife for gossiping and telling him what she and her mother have talked about."

Attitudes of the Two Educational Groups

Responses to the two stories varied with the educational level of the respondents. The high school graduates tended to deplore the lack of conversation described in the first story—this might be termed the “companionable” or “middle-class” response.⁴ Those with less than high school education were apt to feel that the wife has no legitimate grievance. Of 34 male and female high school graduates, 59 per cent believed that the lack of conversation is a genuine problem while only 26 per cent of the 65 less-educated respondents expressed a similar attitude. The level of education affects both men’s and women’s responses similarly.

The high school graduates criticized Mrs. Fox because she violates the privacy of marriage—the “middle-class” view. Fifty per cent of the 38 educated men and women voiced this criticism, as compared to only 16 per cent of the 67 less-educated persons. Again, the difference by education holds for both men and women.

Considering the fact that in the first story the plaintiff is the wife and in the second, the husband, the sexes are remarkably impartial in their judgments. Educational level clearly is more important than sex in influencing responses to these stories. The less-educated wives, however, differ from both their husbands and the high school men and women in one respect. They often remark: “She should leave him alone when he’s like that.” They obviously sympathize with the lonely wife in the first story and do not criticize her so often as their husbands do, but neither do they invoke the ideal of companionship in her defense. It is the

⁴ We have no middle-class respondents. We assume on the basis of previous studies and common knowledge that responses to the stories expressing the values of companionship and of primacy of marital communication tend to be typical of middle-class persons. For example, Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke claim that “when couples are asked what they have gained from marriage, one of the most frequent answers is companionship, intimate association, sympathetic understanding. . . .” The studies cited in their book involve predominantly middle-class respondents (*op. cit.*, p. 386). In any event, the comparison between the educational subgroups is not affected by the accuracy of this identification of the value of companionship with middle-class patterns.

educated men and women who condemn the withdrawal of the husband as a violation of an ideal.

But do the different responses to the two stories really indicate differences in ideas of marriage? The positive expression of a value is more conclusive than its absence. The expression means at the very least that the respondent knows this value and perceives its relevance to the situation. On the other hand, a person may fail to mention a value for a variety of reasons, not merely because he does not recognize it. For example, the wife who is herself a dependent daughter would have a strong motive for exonerating Mrs. Fox, whether or not she is aware of the norm of conjugal privacy. A husband who is especially fond of his mother-in-law can afford to be benevolent. And an unhappily married woman may consistently side with the wife and against the husband.

The responses to the Fox story were considered in relation to the personal situation of each respondent. Personal experiences do tend to color the responses but do not eliminate the differences between the two educational groups. Even in identical personal circumstances, the high school graduates voice middle-class values with greater frequency than the less-educated. For example, the male high school graduates tend to criticize Mrs. Fox even if they are happily married—of 8 happy husbands, 5 objected to Mrs. Fox's violation of marital privacy, but of 16 happy less-educated husbands, only 1 raised this issue. Moreover, the high school husbands prove more critical of Mrs. Fox although at the same time they report *fewer* mother-in-law problems than the less-educated men. The high school graduates, we conclude, disapprove of Mrs. Fox on normative grounds.

Linking the response to the story with the personal situation throws some light upon the acquisition of values. The "middle-class" response on the part of the less-educated husband tends to be associated with mother-in-law problems. The majority of them, as pointed out above, if they disapprove of Mrs. Fox at all, object to neglect of housework or possible interference on the part of the

mother-in-law; but 7 less-educated husbands do invoke the norm of conjugal privacy. Of these 7 men, 5 have mother-in-law problems because of the excessive dependency of their wives upon the mothers. But of 28 less-educated men who gave the typical "working-class" responses, only 4 suffer from such mother-in-law problems. This may mean that personal difficulties sharpen the perception of congenial and supportive values present in the general culture although deviant for this educational level.

The different responses to the stories on the part of the two educational groups are not caused by their differences in age or in duration of marriage. Age for age and with the duration of marriage kept constant, the high school graduates still express the more "middle-class" attitudes. For example, only 7 of 13 less-educated men (married under seven years) reported that the lack of evening talk in the first story constitutes a genuine problem. The comparable figure for the high school graduates is 7 of 9. Of 9 less-educated women (married under seven years), only 6 said that the first story presents a real problem, but 9 out of 10 high school graduates (married under seven years) took this view.

In addition to the stories, another attempt was made to assess the importance attached to friendship in marriage. We asked 85 men and women to list the qualities of a good husband and a good wife.

The 563 qualities volunteered by our respondents are classified into three categories. Qualities pertaining to the major institutional roles of provider, homemaker, parent and in-law make up the first class. General human qualities, such as "kind," "doesn't nag," "loyal" or "honest," are in the second class. The third category is divided into sexual responsiveness or attractiveness and what is here termed "psychic compatibility," our principal interest in this chapter. "Psychic compatibility" implies some recognition of the uniqueness of each marriage and a concern with the interplay of personalities in it. Included in this subdivision are "companionship," "common interests," "emotional support," "love" and other expressions, however formulated, which seem to imply psychic

compatibility—for example, "Gives husband peace of mind at home"; Is nice to wife"; "Likes the same T.V. programs"; "Partnership"; "Tries to fit in with husband and his wants." But even with such generous inclusion of items, psychic compatibility does not appear to loom large in the responses given by these couples. Of 563 qualities listed by men and women, only 95, or 17 per cent, are interpreted as belonging in the category of psychic compatibility; the proper performance of institutional roles ranks first and general human qualities, second.

The level of education affects the responses. Of the 361 qualities of a good mate listed by the less-educated, only 15 per cent refer to psychic congeniality, against 20 per cent of such traits of a total of 202 qualities volunteered by high school graduates. The low priority given by these working-class men and women to psychic congeniality (in contrast with general human virtues or effective performance of institutional roles) may not accurately portray their attitudes. The qualities mentioned or omitted in answer to such open questions partly depend upon the respondent's frame of reference at the moment. These questions came at the very end of the interview. On the one hand, the emphasis on communication with the mate should have brought this matter to the forefront of awareness; on the other hand, the section of the interview immediately preceding the questions about what is important in a good husband or a wife dealt with role performance. This may have slanted the answers towards the institutional roles of provider and homemaker. The fact nevertheless remains that in similar circumstances the high school graduates do place a somewhat greater accent upon compatibility.

"Middle-class" responses to the stories, in the case of the men, are associated with mobility aspirations and with marriages to high school graduates. All 5 of the less-educated husbands who are upwardly mobile and married to high school graduates gave middle-class answers to the stories, whereas of 31 less-educated men who lack one or both of these features, only 4 expressed such views. The reaching out for middle-class standards ("anticipatory

socialization") on the part of the upwardly mobile husbands is manifested in a number of ways. One man confessed that he consented to the interview in order to hear the interviewer talk—he thought he might learn something from listening to her. Another man wanted to improve his English in order to associate with "people who have class." This orientation of the upwardly mobile men towards middle-class standards helps to explain their middle-class conceptions of marriage. The influence of the educated wives is apparent in two or three cases. Dissatisfied with the lack of companionship, one young high school wife repeatedly told her less-educated husband that that was "not the kind of marriage" she wanted; she felt she had finally succeeded in changing his behavior.

Church membership is also associated with "middle-class" responses. Church members tend to criticize the husband in the first story and the wife in the second. Not a single male grammar-school graduate unaffiliated with a church gave a middle-class answer to the first story, whereas one-third of the male church members with grammar-school education endorsed the value of companionship. Among high school graduates, both male and female, the church members expressed a higher proportion of middle-class views than the non-members. Among the less-educated women, however, the church members offered fewer middle-class answers than the unaffiliated—a finding seemingly inconsistent with the other replies and one which we will shortly consider.

Is the church a purveyor of middle-class values or do the more middle-class attitudes expressed by church members reflect some selective forces? The evidence mainly points to the latter explanation. Within our sample, the churches attracted the younger, better-educated and more upwardly mobile men, who regard church membership as an attribute of a "respectable" citizen. But the middle-class views of the male church members cannot be attributed wholly to this kind of selection. The church members tend to give a slightly higher proportion of middle-class responses even when we narrow the comparison to men of identical schooling, age and

aspirations. Case records show that joining a church can increase the area of common interests and, perhaps, reinforce middle-class conceptions of marriage. For example, a young high school graduate, married to a man with nine years of schooling, had this to say about the first story: "Our marriage used to be that way. But we've been so close since we started church." The husband listed his attendance at church affairs as an activity he enjoys "very much." Since joining the church this couple have enjoyed reading and discussing devotional books in the evenings. The husband said: "That man is wrong. He should mix, and talk to his wife about her day and how the family is." Although this still is an unhappy marriage, the wife attributed to the church their newly found evening companionship. The minister had been consulted about their marital problems. The church has certainly given the couple a common interest, but whether it has also communicated new values to the husband remains uncertain though probable. Another couple also joined the church in a deliberate effort to improve their marriage. Such a move in itself reflects the middle-class view that marriage problems are soluble through increasing common interests and, in general, through some purposive action. Again, this fact does not rule out the possibility that once the husband becomes active in church his endorsement of middle-class values becomes more explicit.

The inconsistent finding noted above is that, among less-educated women, church members gave *fewer* middle-class responses than the unaffiliated. Why should church membership play a different role for men and women? In the first place, the selective forces differ: the older and the less-educated women are overrepresented among church members. Among the less-educated respondents, relatively more women than men are affiliated with a church. The less-educated women, understandably, may attend church services and remain steeped in working-class values—some unhappy wives draw upon religion for psychological strength. The wife's grievance presented in the first story must have appeared trivial to one of these women, a mother of ten, with an alcoholic

husband, who remarked (as cited earlier): "She isn't busy enough or she would be glad to have him quiet." In contrast with such church women who maintain their traditional values, upwardly mobile men and women may find in the "couples' club," and in their contacts with the minister, some reinforcement of middle-class conceptions of marriage. This illustrates again that individual responses to external influences are selective and depend upon pre-existing dispositions.⁵

The interview did not explore the influence of formal education *per se* or of family background upon responses to the stories. . . . The parents of the high school graduates had higher occupational status than those of the less-educated. The case studies provide many illustrations of other differences in parental attitudes linked with occupational and economic superiority. The current attitudes of the two educational groups in part reflect, no doubt, different family backgrounds.

A final question about the comments upon the two stories is: Have the stories actually elicited different norms of marriage or merely different attitudes toward verbal communication? When the high school graduate endorses the full sharing of concerns with one's mate, it is likely that he expresses a belief in the therapeutic value of "talk," not merely conviction about the importance of friendship in marriage. For the less-educated person, verbal communication may not constitute so significant a feature of any social relationship. The middle-class interviewer runs the danger of identifying friendship with some of its particular manifestations typical of his own social background. For the less complex personality, friendship is construed as being companionable, that is, having an evening snack together, going for a ride, exchanging gifts or giving each other sexual satisfaction.

⁵ Rebellion against parents appears to explain the middle-class responses of two unaffiliated women. One grade school graduate, an impassioned union member, rejected the church as well as the traditional working-class values of her parents. "We ain't so hipped on church," she said. The couple never attends church. Another, rebelling strongly and resentfully against her religious mother, may have been thus led to acquire deviant values.

Different attitudes towards verbal communication are certainly an element in our findings. But more generally, the responses to the stories and fuller analysis of the cases strongly suggest that for some of Glenton's families—albeit a minority—marriage is "not for friendship." It is not merely the meagerness of verbal communication that characterizes these marriages, but the absence of certain norms, especially the norm that the spouse should be one's closest confidant. In interpreting specific cases, such norms were judged very weak or non-existent, not only because they were not voiced, but because emotionally significant experiences were regularly shared with others in preference to one's mate without any perceptible feeling that this reflected upon the quality of the marriage. Moreover, some persons acknowledged their ignorance of the thoughts and feelings of the mate without the apology or defensiveness usually accompanying violations of norms.

The following case will illustrate such a marriage. We have selected a "happy" couple whose meager verbal communication clearly does not result from marital conflict. The detailed summary is intended to illustrate concretely the interpretation offered above and to portray a style of marriage that excludes norms sometimes taken to be more or less universal in American family life.

Marriage Is Not for Friendship: The Case of Mr. and Mrs. Green

Mr. and Mrs. G. are a young couple, married for three years, with a 2-year-old son. The 23-year-old husband is a garbage collector, earning \$2500 a year. He completed two years of high school; his 22-year-old wife is a high school graduate. But the interviewer commented: "It is hard to believe in view of her poor vocabulary and illiterate handwriting that she had completed high school." The husband said: "She was sort of a dumb-bell at school, but people liked her and she got through."

Mr. G. is a slim tall man, slow-moving and soft-spoken. Asked what makes him satisfied with himself, he replied, "People tell me

I'm easygoing but not a chump." The interviewer noted his deceptively lazy attitude as the manner of a man who thinks that most people, particularly women, become too excited about things and foolishly so. He "quit school at fourteen because I didn't like it." He has held a number of unskilled jobs, and concerning his present occupation as a garbage collector he stated: "People laugh at you for being in this line of work. I don't know what's so funny about it. It's got to be done. There is no future in it, though, and the pay is terrible. I'm going to make a break for it as soon as I can. Everybody's looking out for me now, and something is bound to turn up pretty soon."

Mr. G. appears to be quietly dominant in the marriage and both he and his wife express satisfaction with their sexual relations and with the marriage in general. A good deal of the communication between them is non-verbal. This had been anticipated during their courtship. When asked whether her husband when he proposed to her had said he loved her, Mrs. G. answered:

"He just got softer and softer on me and I could tell that he did and we got to necking more and more and he wanted to go all the way and I didn't want to unless we were going to get married. So finally we got engaged, so everybody knew about it, so we were going steady together." Prior to their marriage he had said a few times "when we were being mushy" that he loved her. "But we usually just started doing it without saying much." And now "when he'll come up and kiss me in the middle of a T.V. show or after he's going to the icebox for something, I know that he is going to want it later on." Has he ever said out and out that he could go for her or wanted her or anything like that? She said, "No, we don't go in for that kind of stuff." Did he say anything when she told him that she got pregnant? "He looked a little funny when I told him, but he didn't say much. You know that's what's going to happen. After a while, when I began to show a lot, he asked me sometimes how I felt."

Mrs. G. was asked to describe their quarrels. They quarrel little, but when they do, over such things as his failure to help move the furniture or her failure to do something he demands, she said, "We just get over it." He might "crab around and then he would know that he had

been mean and make it up" to her. There is no conversation after such quarrels, but Mr. G. helps to dry the dishes or asks her if she likes a T.V. program or wants something else. Mrs. G. felt that it doesn't do any good to talk, it might make things worse.

When asked whether they like to talk about what makes people tick or to discuss the rights and wrongs of things, each said in separate interviews, "No, we don't hash things over." Mr. G.: "It's either right or wrong—what is there to discuss?" Mrs. G. said that they do not talk much about the future of their son: "No matter what plans we make, the times change and the children will have ideas of their own."

This "conversation of gestures" between Mrs. G. and her husband contrasts sharply with the full and open verbal communication characterizing her relationships with female relatives and friends. On many counts Mrs. G. reveals her emotional life more fully to the latter than to her husband. And this extends to spheres of experience beyond the "feminine world" of babies, housework or talk about people:

Mrs. G. sees her sister and her mother daily. "Oh yes," she said about her sister. "We tell each other everything, anything we have on our minds. We don't hold nothing back." But when asked whether she can talk to her husband, she answered: "Sure, I can talk to him about anything that has to be said." Her view is that "men and women do different things; he don't want to be bothered with my job and I don't want to be bothered with his. Sometimes we got to do the same things, something around the house and we have to tell each other."

When asked what helped her when she was "in the dumps," Mrs. G. replied, "Talking to my sister or my mother helps sometimes." She was then asked directly whether conversations with her husband ever have a similar effect. "No," she answered, "when I am in the dumps he can't help me feel any better."

Mrs. G.'s friends are also her neighbors whom she sees several times a day. One friend phoned her six times in one day, and that was unusual, but these women do often telephone one another. She was embarrassed to admit that she discusses her sex life with her friends. "You'd be surprised what they talk about, the things they do in bed. When somebody tells you something, you got to say something back or

they think you are a wet fat dishrag and all washed out and they don't talk to you and you got no friends." Mrs. G.'s embarrassment in reference to sex appears to be caused more by the nature of the topic than by any violation of marital confidence. She is still under the domination of her religious and puritanical mother. Mrs. G. finds sexual fulfillment in marriage, but she shares her reflections about her own sexual responses and about the sexual behavior of men more fully with women than with her husband.

An incident reported by Mrs. G. illustrates her intimacy with her sister. During the first year of her marriage, Mrs. G. was troubled by her husband's habit of "walking around the house with his fly open." She remonstrated with him, but he persisted, saying that he can do what he wants in his own house. She then asked her sister's advice and was told to disregard the offensive habit. But her sister reported the conversation to their mother and Mrs. G. suspects that her mother in turn talked to Mr. G.'s mother. Mr. G. now "closes the zipper whenever a stranger comes into the room" and Mrs. G. is inclined to attribute the reform to the intervention of her mother-in-law. She added that she no longer minds this practice of his when they are alone.

Mr. G. enjoys an active social life with male friends and relatives, but it is doubtful whether he shares his emotional experiences with them to the extent that his wife does with her friends. Nevertheless, Mr. G. revealed to his father and his brother his fears that Mrs. G. was making a "sissy" out of their son, and he regularly consults them about his occupational plans. He does not discuss the latter topics with his wife because "there is no need of exciting her for nothing. Wait until it's sure. Women get all excited and talk too much."

Mr. G. "thinks the world" of the fellows in his clique whom he sees after supper several times a week and on Saturday afternoons. Mrs. G. does not always know where he meets his "friends" when he leaves in the evenings. Mr. and Mrs. G. testified independently that having a beer with the fellows is the best cure for Mr. G.'s depressions. When he cannot afford a beer, he can sometimes "sweat it out by working." Asked if his wife could help him when he felt in "the dumps," Mr. G. replied, "Yes, she can. I tell her, 'just keep out of my way,' and she does." Mr. G. appeared to know less about his wife's sources of emotional relief than she knew of his. Asked what helped his wife when she felt low, Mr. G. remarked "Oh, it wears off after a while. Sure I

can tell [when she feels low] by the way her shoulders hang down and by her sour puss." He admitted that his wife sulks sometimes, and was asked whether they ever talk this over. "Nah, I don't pay no attention to it," was his reply.

Additional light is shed upon the couple's values by their responses to the projective stories and the schedules on "what makes a good mate." Both Mr. and Mrs. G. criticized the wife in the story who demanded more evening companionship with her husband. They moreover found nothing reprehensible in Mrs. Fox's daily conversations with her mother. "She don't have to aggravate her husband by gabbing about it to him, does she?" was Mrs. G.'s only comment. Presented with the case of a wife who complained about being lonely because her husband went out twice a week, Mrs. G. commented: "Why shouldn't he go out, she shouldn't nag him." And Mr. G. said: "If he can afford it, fine. She has the kids, she ain't alone."

The thesis that the lack of psychological intimacy in this marriage does not violate the ideal expectations of Mr. and Mrs. G. is supported by the satisfaction they express with their marriage.

With the exception of her lack of neatness ("But I guess I am fussier than most husbands," Mr. G. added) Mrs. G. is a good wife—"She suits me fine." Mr. G. described her qualities: she is good-natured ("I just tell her how it's going to be and she doesn't talk back. Of course, I'll ask her what she wants sometimes and we try to work it out. I'll try to satisfy her the best I can"); she never nags him about money and is economical; she doesn't "gripe" about his going out with the fellows, and she never denies him sex. He thinks, moreover, that she is very "cute." Her irritating tendency to gossip Mr. G. accepts as the natural failing of all women.

Mrs. G., on her part, is equally satisfied. She considers her husband a considerate sexual partner by comparison with the selfish men—often described by her friends—who "just take what they want and do nothing for their wives; we have a lot of fun sometimes." Her religious mother was critical of her; marriage brought emancipation from parental control. She hopes for an improvement in their financial status—to have the money for baby-sitters, a bigger television set, a better car and more housekeeping gadgets. But, rating her husband on the schedule of what makes a good mate, Mrs. G. gave him the highest of the three possible

marks on the following qualities: "isn't afraid of hard work"; "is always on the lookout for an opportunity to better himself"; "is attractive to wife physically"; "is a considerate lover"; "has an attractive appearance"; "speaks his mind when something is worrying him"; "does the man's job around the house without nagging." And asked if she wished Mr. G. were more open with her, she said, "He crabs around if he wants to, and hollers if he feels like it." Sometimes, it is true, she starts talking to him when he watches T.V. and he tells her to "shut up" but "it usually isn't anything special and I can wait." Similarly, she may occasionally be too busy with the children to pay any attention to what he is saying, but that, again, is to be expected. In answering the interviewer's questions. Mrs. G. claimed that she understood her husband well and is, in turn, understood by him, and that she has "never given up talking to him about something because I felt it was no use."

Although generally happy in her marriage, Mrs. G. did reveal a few dissatisfactions with her husband: "He expects too much of our little boy, and treats him as if he was grown up." Moreover, she confessed that she would like to have her husband "around more" and sometimes when she feels warm towards him, "he brushes me off." Having previously rated these qualities "very important," Mrs. G. gave her husband only an "average" and not a high mark on the following: "is successful in his job so his wife can feel proud of him"; "doesn't chase after women" ("Hasn't yet, I don't think"); "easy to tell one's worries to"; and qualities pertaining to child rearing.

The case of Mr. and Mrs. G. illustrates a certain psychological distance in marriage tolerated because nothing more is expected. The fact that this distance was occasionally frustrating to Mrs. G. may appear to contradict our thesis. But human needs, though molded by culture, are not solely its creation. Needs may emerge in some situations regardless of social expectations. The right of the husband to go out evenings in search of male companionship may be accepted by his wife. But this acceptance does not rule out the possibility that when *she* feels warm towards *him*, he may not be around to satisfy her needs, whereas he can remain at home whenever his feelings dictate it. The significant fact is that these frustrations do not arouse any moral indignation in Mrs. G. She does not feel aggrieved.

A similar relationship is that of a couple, married eight years, who live in the same house with the wife's parents. The early years of marriage were troublesome, but now the wife claims: "We get along good." She appears to be quite satisfied with her economically successful and handsome husband. However, he is "not handy around the house" and is less interested than most Glenton husbands in the women's world of child rearing, interior decoration, housework and shopping. The wife shares such feminine interests with her mother and her girl friends. The impression of a certain distance in the marriage is conveyed by other facts:

Having checked "confiding worries" and "talking about what makes people tick" as activities she enjoys very much, she named her mother and her girl friends as preferred associates in such discussions. The standard question, "If there were two more hours every day, how would you like most to spend them?" was answered by this woman without hesitation: "Having a longer afternoon, visiting with my girl friends."

This woman, though apparently quite satisfied with her life, admitted feeling depressed periodically: "I feel out of sorts twice a year. It's kind of seasonal, spring and fall. I feel like a fat slob, the house is a mess; I feel depressed. I talk to Mother about it and she tells me she had the same thing." Has she ever talked to her husband about these moods? the interviewer asked her. She could recall no such conversation and she "couldn't really tell" whether he knew about her moods. Two incidents confirm the impression of meager communication between the spouses. The wife made arrangements for the interviewer's meeting with the husband's parents. A week later the husband was surprised to learn from the interviewer that she had met his parents; the wife never mentioned the incident to him. Moreover, during the first interview, the wife was enthusiastic about the T.V. play which she saw the preceding evening, on her husband's night out. She was subsequently asked whether she mentioned the play to him and the answer was negative.

Additional illustrations of the sharing of confidences with others than the spouse are provided by the women who, suspecting themselves to be pregnant, told their female relatives about it be-

fore informing their husbands. One woman first told her mother that she thought she was pregnant. Her mother advised her to wait a month before telling her husband, which the wife did. This procedure was repeated during her second pregnancy. Two other women reported similar incidents: "My sister told me to wait after I skipped my second period before telling him [respondent's husband]."

We estimate that, of 58 marriages, 7 are unmistakably of the type just described. A few others are similar, but do not exhibit so extreme a pattern. Of the 14 persons involved in the 7 marriages only 1 (Mrs. Green) is a high school graduate. This corroborates the evidence obtained by means of the two stories. The less-educated couples tend to be more traditional in their ideas about sex-linked interests and about "rights" of men to silence and protection from tiresome children and women's trivia. They tend to think that friendship is more likely to exist between members of the same sex, whereas they see the principal marital ties as sexual union, complementary tasks and mutual devotion.

Suggestions for Further Reading

NORMAN W. BELL and EZRA F. VOGEL, eds., *The Family* (New York: Free Press, 1960). An excellent collection of articles and essays setting forth problems of the family in terms of structure and function.

ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR., and DONALD M. WOLFE, *Husbands and Wives* (New York: Free Press, 1960). Focuses on decision-making, division of labor, children, companionship, emotional understanding, and love in the American family.

DAVID CAPLOVITZ, *The Poor Pay More: Consumer Practices of Low-Income Families* (New York: Free Press, 1963). A detailed description of the consumption practices of the poor, as well as of the functions and dysfunctions of the credit economy for these poor Americans.

LEE RAINWATER, RICHARD P. COLEMAN, and GERALD HANDEL, *Workingman's Wife* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1959). Presents the results of a national depth study of working-class housewives, with particular emphasis on their buying habits and preferences.

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American Soldier, Volumes I and II, and *What College Students Think*. With Margaret W. Ryan, he is co-editor of *Schools in Transition*.

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